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The Editor (prompted by the EA and another candid friend) swore a mighty oath (by the nine gods? They were presumably the Novensides according to the interpretation popular in antiquity, Arnobius 3.35, but what are they doing in Etruria and where did Macaulay find them?) that he would clear the arrears of *LCM* by a double number to appear at the end of March and then ensure that April appeared in April and so on. He knows now that the end of March proved to have been optimistic, even if term has ended, but preparation of the double number has been much assisted by those who submit material on disc, and he must apologise to those whose more traditionally prepared material submitted earlier has been of necessity sacrificed to the need to catch up. Justice suggests that for the next few months the Editor should deny himself the advantage provided by discs.

He is, however, much gratified by the extremely prompt response that some subscribers have made to an invoice dated in February but submitted in March, a fact noted by one canny Scot. In some cases they have added brief notes of appreciation for *LCM* which are the more welcome as indicating that subscribers have been willing to bear with *LCM* during a bad period which the Editor hopes is coming to an end. One even sent a splendid postcard with a detail from the *Inferno* of Taddeo di Bartolo (the picture seems to be in San Gimignano) depicting the torture of Pride. He said it represented the punishment meted out to those who fail to renew their subscription, but the Editor suspects that the sub-text had a different referend. Another enjoined him with the words *macte virtute, puer*, but had the grace to query the *puer*. The Editor did not consider Early Retirement the first time it was mooted, and though he did this year when it appeared that he might materially benefit the University by going early, it would only have been by one year and the benefits would have been small and not shared with him. It is true that he knows of a University where details of Early Retirement are provided on appointment of new staff, but Early Retirement does not yet mean that we are to have Universities entirely staffed with *pueri puellaeque*.

He is not, he thinks, quite yet demob happy, though his colleagues may take a different view, but it is a funny feeling to know that under the New Academic Appointments Scheme (NAAS, still not ratified by the Government though Universities are treating it as if it were) the vacancy he will create is to be filled by an understudy, and he cannot say he will be unhappy to be able to devote his time to publishing and research, present day Universities not providing a climate favourable to dinosaurs.

In fact the two vacancies to be created in Liverpool (the other by the retirement of Dr Barr, a staff member who will be sorely missed) are both to be filled and by language specialists and not by archaeologists or historians. But the Editor fears that the terms of appointment will preclude on the grounds of age many of those, especially women, who have suffered the most from the last ten years of uncertainty. Universities and the Union (currently, overseas readers may know, operating a ban on participation in examining) combine in not approving the appointment of those who may be willing to accept less than the salary deemed appropriate for their age.

But the Editor is letting his cloven hoof appear (did dinosaurs chew the cud?) with his old-fashioned view that any institution which appoints on any other criterion than that of taking the best candidate whatever personal or structural difficulties may emerge is one bound to decline.

The logo seems particularly appropriate, if the dinosaur is looking backwards towards a past that was perhaps only better in retrospect than the present (indeed, it lacked LCM). A financial administrator recently suggested to the Editor that the University (which has already formulated its mission) was trying to find a new personality suited to the times, with which many older members were unwilling to change. Indeed the future lies with those whose names end in -edius and idius.



Donald Lateiner (Ohio Wesleyan): *Teeth in Homer*

LCM 14.2/3 (Feb./Mar.1989), 18-23

*Bill Beck, Frederick Combella, Jim Holoka, Gil Rose, and anonymous readers suggested major improvements. Errors that remain and emphasis are the author's. This odontological essay presents but one bit of a larger study of non-verbal behaviors in ancient epic.*

Forty-five references to teeth occur in the two Homeric epics. As they are instruments associated with ripping and destroying, teeth appear in contexts of violence<sup>1</sup>. Homer mentions teeth most frequently when recording violent destruction of the body and life by man or animal, or in passages in which aggressors sink them into another's flesh, or victims lose teeth. Teeth in Homer bite other creatures to destroy them, to block ineffectively a superior weapon's thrust wielded at their owner's face, or to keep words from escaping the mouth. One formula heightens drama by reporting how lip-biting non-verbally communicates an extreme and socially inexpressible emotional state: annoyance, frustration, and the suppression of unacceptable speech. A brief survey of all instances where Homer mentions the hardest and sharpest animal organ will also examine their effect on the poems.

Teeth are emblems of violence in nature and in humans, and can communicate otherwise hidden feelings. They sometimes symbolize strength, sometimes weakness. Strong teeth are a mark of health and vigor, the powers of maturity (cf. the infant's need for help in eating, *Il.* 9. 489). To sink teeth into something implies the capacity to master, devour, and digest it, as in the carnivore similes (*Il.* 11.114, 175 = 17.63; *Od.* 12. 91-92). Absence of teeth is

<sup>1</sup> Three rows of teeth 'full of black death' (*Od.* 12. 91) indicate Skylla's monstrous destructiveness. The Gorgon's visible tusks and teeth embodied her hostility and part of her deadly force in the story of Perseus in literature and on many vases; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.2; Th. Howe, 'The origin and function of the Gorgon-Head', *AJA* 58(1954), 209-21; and G. Hanfmann & J. Pollard, 'Gorgo', with good bibliography, *OCD* (2nd ed., Oxford 1972) 472A. In addition to snapping monsters, people sometimes bit people: Apul. *Metam.* 9.40; Arrian *Epict.* 2.22. 28.

a natural badge of marginal status in the community (cf. the punishment of removal of nose, ears, and genitals: 18.86-87, 22.476). To have one's teeth knocked out means defeat. Humans, in Homer's usage, generally reveal teeth to express hostility (Akhilleus' grinding), or pain (Iros' grimace), but not in the friendliness of a broad smile<sup>2</sup>. Hard, shiny teeth are conspicuous. Teeth rarely occur to us as instruments of communication, although mention of smiling, teeth-clenching, baring of the incisors, chattering, and putting fingernails to the teeth<sup>3</sup> suggests the power of teeth in a second language, non-verbal communication. This expressive mode conveys useful information about a state of mind intentionally or reveals it unintentionally. Homer too employs this alternative language.

Even hard teeth are no defense against pitiless bronze; the least vulnerable human organ is entirely helpless against metal weapons<sup>4</sup>. In death scenes of the *Iliad*, teeth often get smashed. Idomeneus stabbed Erymas in the mouth and his teeth were knocked out, Hektor speared Koiranos by the ear and pushed his teeth out, Meges drove his shaft into Pedaios from the back of his head and the spear came out through the teeth. In his death throes, Pedaios caught the bronze weapon with his teeth, the weaker victim seeming for the moment to overpower the victor, a touch of pathos (*Il.* 16.348; 17.617; 5.74-5). So, at 5.291, Diomedes pierced Pandaros' nose, teeth, and tongue, and at 16.405, Patroklos killed Thestor with a blow to the side of his head that knocked his teeth out. The spear-to-the-head killing marks the skill and vast superiority of the victor, the ignoble and mutilating form of death for the vanquished.

The adverb *ὀδᾶξ*, 'by the teeth', appears five times in the *Iliad* in the phrase 'to bite the dust', meaning 'to die violently, suddenly, and thunderously in battle'. Surprisingly, Homer employs it only in direct speech, never in descriptions of death at Troy: Agamemnon prays that the Trojans may die thus, Nestor reports one hundred Peloponnesian enemies of his once did so, Akhilleus regrets that the Akhaians are dying in this way and asserts that the Trojans would have done so, and Andromakhe in her lament boasts that Hektor had forced many Akhaians to die this way at his hands (*Il.* 2.418, 11.749, 19.61, 22.17, 24.738). The dirt-biting idiom's one appearance in the *Odyssey* climaxes the slaughter of the chief suitors (22.269): *ὁ μὲν ἐπειθ' ἄμα πάντες ὀδᾶξ ἔλον ἄσπετον οὐδᾶς*. The idiom may refer to involuntary clenching of the jaw in death or it may express especial humiliation, not mere defeat and dying, but being forced to participate in one's own degradation and death. In current American slang, 'You've got to eat dirt', or 'eat it'. The phrase underlines the ultimate 'loss of face'.

Teeth serve as non-verbal cues for man's vulnerability. When he has been captured, Dolon's teeth chatter in fear just before he starts to cry, two involuntary forms of non-verbal communication. Idomeneus subsequently generalizes the former, dental reaction for cowards along with remarks on other psychosomatic *indicia*: skin color, heartbeat rate, and nervous foot movement (*Il.* 10.375-77; 13.278-85). Dolon's teeth tap out his timorous incapacity to defend himself. In the *Odyssey*, the emboldened beggar Iros announces he will knock out the new beggar's teeth, but the outcome of the mini-challenge reverses the bombastic threat just as it foreshadows the beggar's victories against the suitors. He compares Odysseus to an old woman and a crop-destroying wild pig, but he himself is soon bleating like a goat in the dust, with his teeth uncontrollably dashed together (*Od.* 18.28-30, 98-99)<sup>5</sup>. These four passages present teeth as non-verbal communicators of mortal fear and helplessness, messages all the more powerful for their wordlessness. The two victims begin boldly but falsely measure their tasks; once in difficulties, their courage fails and teeth express their inability to control their facial muscles.

<sup>2</sup> The root of *ὀδούς* (tooth) may be the same as that of *ὀδύνη* (pain) and *ἔδω* (eat). The phonic resemblance to the name of Odysseus is aurally significant, even if Autolykos himself etymologizes it from *ὀδύσσομαι* ('hate', 19.407-09).

<sup>3</sup> C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig 1890) pp.17-18; D. Morris et al., *Gestures. Their Origin and Distribution* (New York 1979) ch. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Consult F. Combellack, 'New light on Homer's profession', subtitled '*Homer der Henker*', *CJ* 42 (1946/7) 210, for observations on Homer's technical knowledge of human anatomy and related professional activities.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Daniel Levine, 'Odyssey 18: Iros as paradigm for the suitors', *CJ* 77 (1982) 200-04.

One dental idiom, 'the barrier of the teeth' (ἔρκος ὀδόντων), regards the teeth as a potentially effective tool for keeping in something whose escape would harm the subject, namely foolish words<sup>6</sup>. The barrier of the teeth should protect its possessor against physical attack or verbal imputation of immaturity that a passionate, spontaneous utterance might provoke. In practice, the barrier is noted only when it has failed in this task. The person who employs this formula always stands as parent or parental figure to the addressee and always feigns surprise at the interlocutor's mistaken judgement in letting words escape the teeth. In the *Odyssey*, Zeus twice chides Athena, and she Telemakhos, as old nurse Eurykleia does Odysseus and Penelope, and powerful Antinoos addresses Leodes defeated by the effort to string the bow (*Od.* 1.64 = 5.22; 3.230; 19.492 = 23.70; 21.168). Zeus asks: 'What sort of talk, my child, has slipped through the barrier of your teeth?', τέκνον ἐμόν, πόλόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων; In the *Iliad*, thoughtful Odysseus, a father figure for the neurotically insecure Commander-in-Chief<sup>7</sup>, twice thus rebukes and restrains rash Agamemnon who abuses others for not fighting, and later wishes to leave the plain of Troy forthwith (*Il.* 4.350 = 14.83). In all these passages the pseudo-question highlights a notable failure of the owner's teeth to perform their protective, speech-containing task. The idiom invites the addressee to take prophylactic measures against further indiscretions.

Two unique variants of the teeth-barrier formula deserve attention. A barrier can keep substances either out or in. Kirke marvels aloud that Odysseus survived unchanged the passage of her harmful potions past the palisade of his teeth into his body (*Od.* 10.328). The battlefield formula betrays her hostile intentions; offensive and defensive metaphors can apply to male-female encounters. Kirke's clasping of the hero's knees again reminds us of war. Akhilleus in *Iliad* 9, while rejecting the Akhaian ambassadors' urgent requests, employs the same formula to refer to the escape from the body of something irreplaceable, the *psyche*. Once past the barrier of the teeth, it can never be brought back (*Il.* 9.409). As part of a rejection of Heroic values and an isolated creation of a counter-system, the argument has something exit past the dental checkpoint, not enter. Here, for once, a hero wishes to conserve life rather than destroy it. The language of Akhilleus employs the same words as others do, yet for different ends, here and elsewhere<sup>8</sup>.

The tusk of a boar helps to fix the polytropic identity of Odysseus after his return to Ithaka. In a flashback Homer reports that his protagonist's thigh had been ripped open and scarred by a boar's tooth or tusk (*Od.* 19.393, 450, 465; 23.74). Stigmatized for life (21.219, 24.332) by this unwanted badge, his identity is revealed instantly to Eurykleia to whom the scar was well known, more slowly to Eumaios and Philoitios who require study (τῷ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσιδέτην εὖ), and, after a long and sadistic deception, to his exasperated and doubting father, Laertes, when he demands a sure sign, σῆμα ἀριφραδές. Penelope, whose standards of evidence are the highest, will not accept even permanent physical alteration as proof. She demands secret signs known only to the married couple, presumably unknown even to the gods<sup>9</sup>: ἡμῖν | σήμαθ', ἃ δὴ καὶ νῶϊ κεκρυμμένα ἴδμεν ἀπ' ἄλλων. This semasiological proof will not be a significant object, the marriage-bed's immobility, which any god might discern, but an involuntary display of emotion, Odysseus' unmeditated anger<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the English command, 'Bite your tongue!'.  
<sup>7</sup> Jennifer Roberts, 'Portrait of a neurosis: Agamemnon...', *CO* (Dec./Jan. 1981/2) 33-37.

<sup>8</sup> The topic of the strained diction of Akhilleus, esp. in *Il.* 9, has a growing bibliography; consult the 1986 papers of S. Nimis, 'The language of Achilles...', *CW* 79 (1986) 217-25; J. Griffin, 'Words and speakers in Homer', *JHS* 106 (1986) 36-57; J. Arieti, 'Achilles' alienation in *Iliad* 9', *CJ* 82(1986), 1-27. These critics identify words used only by or of Akhilleus.

<sup>9</sup> See *Od.* 19.467-68, 21.222, 24.329; 23.72-74 with 107-10.

<sup>10</sup> Penelope tests her husband, the tester of many, who here unusually has no epithet, especially of the "wily" sort, and who only here is tricked into betraying his sudden anger (23.181-82).

Tooth imagery enriches many animal similes. Beasts grind, grip, and gouge with their dental equipment. The boar grinds his teeth in combat (*Il.* 11.416-17, 12.149, 13.474). The lion grips its prey, cow or deer, in its sharp teeth and foams over its teeth when struck (*Il.* 11.114, 11.175 = 17.63, 20.168). Bestial savagery sets a standard that men easily match and Akhilleus surpasses. Akhilleus expresses nonverbally and partly by teeth his extreme anger and hatred. When he is about to indulge his ruinous, nearly mindless blood-lust (*Il.* 19.365), 'his eyes glittered with fury and from his teeth came a metallic grinding': τοῦ καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν καναχὴ πέλε, τῷ δέ οἱ ὄσσε | λαμπέσθην. Homer portrays a man beyond human manners and words, his teeth and eyes possessing a horrifying, baleful force. The grim killing gaze is like that of a Gorgon, fit to adorn successful Hektor at the Akhaian ships or an Akhaian shield (*Il.* 8.349, 11.36). Akhilleus by now has been narrowed to what we may call a bestial urge to kill. All the aggressive animal-tooth similes appear in the *Iliad* where ripping flesh is commonplace<sup>11</sup>. Odysseus' boar-toothed helmet occurs in an arming scene (*Il.* 10.260-71), and may recall the cunning, irresistible power, and mercilessness of the wild boar.

Aggressive biting is associated with bestial behavior. The three appearances of the verb δάκνω in metaphors and images reflect the main action but are not a direct part of it: Sarpedon's abuse of Hektor bit the latter to the heart; Athena inspires Menelaos with the pertinacious courage of the brushed-off but obstinate mosquito that keeps attacking and biting his much larger human victim; and in an ecphrasis, the shepherd dogs on the shield of Akhilleus fear to get near enough to marauding lions to bite them (*Il.* 5.493, 17.572, 18.585; cf. *Od.* 8.185; *Il.* 24.212-13)<sup>12</sup>. All three images suggest the penetrating power of teeth or their equivalent.

Soft lips play a smaller role than teeth in epic, especially since Greek synecdoches for speaking prefer the tongue or mouth as metonyms for speech, e.g., (*Il.* 2.489, cf. *Od.* 19.175): οὐδ' εἰ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δέ στόματ' εἴεν. The suitors bite their lips three times (see below), Hera's lips form a hypocritical smile (with her brows in clear nonverbal contradiction, even to those less perceptive than Zeus); Odysseus gives a "sardonic" smile in his anger at insults, something like a snarl; Andromakhe suggests that a beggar boy can obtain only enough drink to wet his lips (cf. the English idiom 'wet your whistle'); and Odysseus offers 'friendly' advice to Iros, his fellow beggar, to avoid getting a 'bloody lip', a likely outcome if that pulpy and vulnerable organ came between Iros' teeth and Odysseus' fist<sup>13</sup>.

\* \* \*

Teeth and lips send a non-verbal message that structures one of the subplots of the *Odyssey*, Telemakhos' maturation. Creative fiction conveys character by description and by the report of words, decisive deeds, and nonverbal behaviors, intentional or not. This last category is now receiving deserved systematic attention<sup>14</sup>. Students of Homer, noting aspects

<sup>11</sup> Gil Rose, 'Odysseus' barking heart', *TAPA* 109 (1979) 215-30, analyzes the poem's canine similes and metaphors. Prof. James Holoka remarked *per ep.* the barking bitch simile at *Od.* 20.14-16 (cf. *Il.* 18.586, 21.575). Although teeth are not mentioned, visualizing the angry mother dog leads the reader to imagine the ethologically universal sign of aggressive hostility: bared teeth.

<sup>12</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. bite, vb. 16. 'Phrases', p. 221 (*Compact Edition*) lists as English idioms: 'bite the bridle, the dust, the lip, the tongue, the thumb at (Shakespeare), the teeth, one by the ear' (for affection), and the American reader can add 'the bullet, the hand that feeds you', etc. The vivid word lends itself to metaphors.

<sup>13</sup> *Il.* 15.102; *Od.* 20.301-02; *Il.* 22.495; *Od.* 18.21-22. Other weak or even dead labial metaphors refer to the lip of a vessel, a basket, or a trench (*Il.* 12.52; *Od.* 4.132, 616 = 15.116).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. F. Poyatos, 'Forms and functions of nonverbal communication in the novel: a new perspective of the author-character-reader relationship', *Nonverbal Communication, Interaction and Gesture*, ed. A. Kendon (the Hague 1981) 107-49; S. Portch, *Literature's Silent Language* (New York 1985), a study of non-verbal communication in American short fiction.

of this phenomenon, have studied such signals in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, for instance, silence, laughter, tears, mutilation of the living and dead, suppliance, sceptre-wielding, beetling brows and dark looks<sup>15</sup>. A survey of nonverbal behaviors for any single ancient poet or poem does not yet exist<sup>16</sup>.

The human being's most supple and versatile instrument of nonverbal expression is the face<sup>17</sup>. Violent and subtle emotions often display themselves through head movement, looking, or 'looks' (*Mundstellung*), composed by the separate parts of the face (nose, ears, mouth, lips, eyes, brows, forehead) in their position, color, and period of non-normal disposition (e.g., wrinkled, flushed, extended time of immobility such as 'eye-lock').

For literary characters as well as in real-life situations, facial expressions, postures, and gestures communicate emotional states (grief, love, hatred, reckless arrogance), convey urgent messages ('Stop that!', 'Get out of here!', 'You're crazy!', 'I love you!'), and allow individuals to avoid explicit and non-negotiable conflicts. They are wordless signals. When the two channels of information – verbal and nonverbal – are in conflict (as when, bleary-eyed and semi-comatose, professors tell students how very much they enjoy reading and grading a set of papers), the non-verbal always overrides the verbal<sup>18</sup>. For the literary artist, gestures, expressions, and significant objects enable the narrative to show something important (such as a contradiction between words and feelings) in an apparently objective manner, to emphasize without explicit evaluative 'comment'<sup>19</sup>. The most interesting enrichment of epic by teeth occurs in the formula for lip-biting unique to the *Odyssey*. Lip-biting is a well known non-verbal cue for frustrated or suppressed intentions to act or speak. Although the epic is full of people who fail to gain their ends, this form of non-verbal, perhaps involuntary communication only characterizes one subject in Homer – the haughty and usually successful suitors. The generally ineffective and isolated Telemakhos three times astonishes the suitors with such bold speech that they (unintentionally?, unconsciously?) bite their lips in angry impotence: ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ὁδᾶξ ἐν χεῖλεσι φύντες | Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον, δ' θαρσαλέως ἀγόρευε No one else contains rage thus with self-inflicted violence<sup>20</sup>.

At the beginning, in sheer desperation over his estate's situation, Telemakhos assertively calls for a public assembly and hopes that Zeus will curse the suitors. Closer to the resolution, Eurymakhos abuses with the footstool the beggar who is Telemakhos' disguised father. In disgust and more daringly Telemakhos tells the suitors to leave his house because

<sup>15</sup> Sittl (1890), esp. ch 2; F.Combellack, 'Speakers and scepters in Homer', *CJ* 43 (1948) 209-17; S. Besslich, *Schweigen-Verschweigen-Uebergehen...* (Heidelberg 1966); Ch.Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden 1971); O.Cramer, 'Speech and silence in the Iliad' *CJ* 71 (1976) 300-04; J.Griffin, 'Symbolic scenes and significant objects', Ch. 1 in *Homer on Life and Death*, (Oxford 1980); V.Pedrick, 'Supplication in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*', *TAPA* 112 (1982) 125-40; J.Holoka, 'Looking darkly: Reflections on status and decorum in Homer' *TAPA* 113 (1983) 1-16; D.Levine, e.g., 'Flens matrona et meretrices gaudentes: Penelope and her maids', *CW* 81 (1987) 23-27; idem, 'Odysseus' Smiles...', *TAPA* 114 (1984) 1-9.

<sup>16</sup> For a sketch of Homer's breadth in reporting nonverbal behaviors, see D. Lateiner, 'Nonverbal communication in the Histories of Herodotus', *Arethusa* 20 (1987) 84-87, and 'inventory', 108-12.

<sup>17</sup> For related perspectives on the significance of the face, see P.Ekman, ed. *Emotion in the Human Face* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1982); E.Goffman, 'On Face-Work', ch. 1 (orig. 1955) in *Interaction Ritual* (New York 1967). R.Firth, 'Postures and Gestures of Respect', *Exchange and Communication. Mélanges Claude Lévi-Strauss*, ed. P.Maranda and J.Pouillon (The Hague 1969) 188-209, esp. 188-89, 199, notes that outside of the European cultural community, other parts of the body have greater expressive significance.

<sup>18</sup> Prof. Holoka provided this point and fine example *per ep.*

<sup>19</sup> Combellack (1948), pp.210, 215, discusses the solemn and significant passages where Homer mentions a speaker assuming, passing, or dashing the sceptre; Griffin, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Commentators since antiquity have explicated the unexpected participle: the suitors 'fastening on their lips with set teeth' wonder at Telemakhos. Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang zu Homers Odyssee* (3rd ed., Leipzig 1879, ) 43, needlessly deny the teeth's real action in favor of a metaphorical meaning.

by some god's will they are mad from the drink. Finally, just before the contest of the bow, he seats his father, still disguised as a beggar, in the feast-hall and fearlessly informs the company that he will fight to honor the courtesies due a stranger (*Od.* 1.381-2, 18.410-11, 20.268). Each time the outraged suitors do not know quite how to react. Eustathius chose to comment on the involuntary response recorded in the first passage, 'this is a way of expressing their stymied amazement': *δπερ ἐστὶ σχῆμα θάμβους καὶ ἀπορίας*. The unmeditated expressive nonverbal expression of suppressed anger has an unintended honesty absent from the suitors' superficially calm replies (Antinoos: 1.384-87; Amphinomos: 18.414-21; Antinoos: 20.271-74). Their simultaneous consciousness of abuse of *xenia* and their intention not to change their ways result in the lip-bite. Homer 'allows' the non-verbal to override the verbal. Their verbal replies are feeble self-exculpations.

This formulaic non-verbal act marks three stages in Telemakhos' emergence into manhood and the insertion of himself into the adult community: first, public verbal opposition to the parasites, then direct insult and scornful command to the impolite table-companions, and, finally, rejection of their outrageous behavior at table and a warrior's challenge to direct physical combat<sup>21</sup>. Homer intensifies these three scenes by having Telemakhos speak in an increasingly goading manner.

The suitors' response formula, if we may call it that, is undoubtedly convenient for the oral poet, as all formulas are, but the restriction to a limited set of related incidents neatly characterizes the suitors' 'monotropic' response to the boy-man Telemakhos' developing courage and statements about justice. On these three occasions, Telemakhos has verbally boxed in the suitors' actions (cf. Penelope's ruses). They are stumped for a suitable response. The bitten lips convey instantly a complex of reactions better than any direct speech or authorial description of their mental state could.

Report of dramatic nonverbal gestures, postures, sounds, and objects pervades both Homeric epics. Homer's graphic power produces, with all the resources of expressiveness, memorable scenes, emblematic of human suffering and experience. Non-verbal events appear often, in the author's 'objective' narrative and also in formulaic descriptions, animal and human similes, and stories within stories. Homer manipulates symbolic speech and involuntary self-revelation for dramatic economy, since non-verbal behaviors enable the poet to show both simple and complex mental states without lengthy description or analysis. Homer displays character and emotion without intruding on the action. Teeth participate in this art of conveying wordless information. This small part of human anatomy, we have seen, figures repeatedly in scenes of battlefield agony, animal images of human behavior, and in the near anarchy of the palace at Ithaka. Biting words abet Homer's portrayal of the baiting of the suitors. Their bitter self-biting ingeniously foreshadows their impotence in the final round of the contest for Penelope.

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<sup>21</sup> Some analytic and Parryite critics will deny such literary and structural intentions to the oral poets of archaic Greek epic, but the use of this formulaic phrase in only one connected series of critical encounters deserves explanation. Cf. Griffin's arguments against oral poetics (above, note 8) based on a separate vocabulary for narrative and for speech, with study of Akhilleus and Agamemnon.



E.Kerr Borthwick (Edinburgh): *An Alcaic line in Beethoven's Egmont?*

LCM 14.2/3 (Feb./Mar 1989), 24-28

In LCM 12.5 (May 1987), 78-80 H.MacL.Currie has proposed that Beethoven, whose literary and cultural interests he is right to stress, not least his love of the Greek classics, may have been consciously, or unconsciously, motivated by contemporary poetic interest in Germany in imitating Greek metrical patterns to use the rhythm of the Alcaic hendecasyllable for the memorably urgent theme of the allegro portion of his *Egmont* overture (bars 82-5). I am surprised that he did not consider adding how appropriate would have been such an allusion to Alcaeus, the freedom fighter and opponent of the tyrants of Mytilene, when one reflects on the similar position of Count Egmont vis-à-vis the Duke of Alba, and his great affirmation before the scaffold '*Ich sterbe für die Freiheit für die ich lebte und focht*' – to say nothing of the association of this same metre (as Beethoven is likelier to have known) with the solemn 'Roman Odes' of Horace. Beethoven, staunch Republican and reader of Plutarch, and himself a redoubtable hater of tyrants both historical (Alba, Napoleon) or operatic (Pizarro), was proud always to have on his desk the treasured possession of a bust of the earlier opponent of Roman tyranny, Lucius Brutus, and, some years after the composition of the *Egmont* music<sup>1</sup>, he suggested the name of the more famous tyrannicide Brutus to the poet Eduard von Bauernfeld as a possible operatic subject<sup>2</sup>. He probably knew the translations of Horace's *Odes* into their original metres, including Alcaics, by J.H.Voss, if not also the Alcaic odes of Klopstock, whose poetry at one time he much admired, and considered suitable to musical setting<sup>3</sup>.

Beethoven's interest in original classical metres is at least decisively attested in his study of Voss's hexameter translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the latter being his favourite work of literature<sup>4</sup>, and his copy of the first edition of 1781 the most notable survivor of the composer's own not insubstantial personal library. It is probably little known that a single line of the *Iliad* has even a melody composed for it by Beethoven, although it seems not to have warranted the accolade of a W.O.O. number among his works. Why *Il.23.274* should

1. Currie's account of the complete music is defective, as he fails to include the four entr'actes, the movement known as *Klärchen's Tod*, or the melodrama preceding Egmont's last speech and 'Victory Symphony'.

2. According to Winton Dean (in Arnold and Fortune, *The Beethoven Companion*, London 1971, 381) this was in winter 1814/15. K.E.Schürmann, *Beethoven Texte* (Münster 1980), 621, says 1816. But, as Bauernfeld, a close friend of Schubert (they were to attend Beethoven's funeral together) was born only in 1802, I find such precocity a little improbable, and Professor Peter Branscombe kindly informs me that though there are certain chronological problems, Bauernfeld's conversation with Beethoven, which he reports in his memoirs, must surely have been in the 1820s.

3. According to Anton Schindler (see D.McArdle, *Beethoven as I knew him*, London 1966, 366), Beethoven 'could recite whole sections from memory' from the *Ars Poetica*, and it is unlikely that he would have a Horace translation of this without also the *Odes*. Voss's *Horace* first appeared in 1806. Beethoven attested his early enthusiasm for Klopstock, whose poems he took on his walks, and who, he said, was 'great and uplifts the soul', but he admitted to Rochlitz in 1822 that 'Goethe has killed Klopstock for me', and that he was always 'Maestoso, D flat major' (Thayer, *Life of Beethoven*, New York 1921, III, 75). Nevertheless he writes in 1824 to the Directors of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* 'I prefer to set to music the works of poets like Homer, Klopstock and Schiller' (Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, III no.1260). In fact, only sketches for a couple of Klopstock poems by him exist, though he surely knew settings made by his close friend and early teacher, C.G.Neefe. Although Grillparzer would not have been known as a poet at the time of the composition of the *Egmont* music, it is conceivable, as Currie suggests, that he may have discussed literary matters in his youth with Beethoven through the family connection around 1804/5. Their closest association however was in the 1820s, over the projected opera *Melusina*.

4. Beethoven requested a libretto on 'The Return of Ulysses' from the Poet Theodor Körner shortly before he was killed in battle against Napoleonic troops in 1813, instead of which he proceeded in the following year to the definitive version of *Fidelio*, which, as I have pointed out before, is virtually the *Odyssey* in reverse – the last-minute rescue of threatened husband by disguised wife, and the triumph of *l'amour conjugal*.



have been singled out by him is a little strange, but here it is, as quoted from one of the sketchbooks by Gustav Nottebohm in his *Zweite Beethoveniana* (1887), 328:



In addition to this, a fragmentary sketch for a melody for Voss's *Od.* 14.83-4 (a favourite couplet of the composer, which he marked in his own copy) appears in the distinguished company of sketches for his late B $\flat$  quartet op.130 in the Egerton ms. 2795 in the British Museum<sup>5</sup>; and, from an entry in his *Tagebuch* for 1812-18 (a most important document for the understanding of his private life and thoughts, and recently made accessible through Maynard Solomon's published translation<sup>6</sup>), we find that he had earlier composed a canon on another favourite passage, *Od.* 5.1-2. No less interestingly, in the same *Tagebuch* (para.49) we find him writing out with scansion marks (not quite accurately!) Voss's translation of *Il.* 22.303-5, as Solomon surmises, 'for a projected musical setting'. One notes, incidentally, how truly Beethovenian in spirit are these lines, where Hector expresses his determination to await, but not succumb to Fate<sup>7</sup>, recalling as they do his own affirmation in a letter to Wegeler (I. no.54 Anderson) 'I will seize Fate by the throat, it shall certainly not bend and crush me completely': *nun aber erhascht mich das Schicksal!*

das nicht arbeitslös in den Staub ich sinkē noch rühmlös,  
Nein erst grösses vollendēt wövon auch Künftige hören!

That he regarded trochees (no less than spondees) as suitable equivalents of dactyls is shown by an earlier diary entry (8): 'In trochaic lines with occasional dactyls, the ~ ~ counts for no more than ~ . . . These also are well suited to musical setting'. That is, Beethoven is subscribing to the no longer popular view of the so-called 'cyclic dactyl'.

It was about this time too that Beethoven was toying with the idea of composing an opera on *Bacchus* to a libretto by Rudolph von Berge<sup>8</sup> – in fact, following almost immediately on his line of music for the *Iliad* quoted, we find in the same sketch-book as musical phrase set to 'gütiger Pan', followed by a typical horn-call, then the comment 'Perhaps the dissonances should not be resolved throughout the whole opera, for in those primitive times our highly developed music would not be the thing. Yet the music must be treated in a pastoral way', then 'it must be evolved out of the B.M.' (?Bacchus Motif), and finally musical phrases for 'gütige, heilige' and 'gütiger, schützender, segender Pan'<sup>9</sup>. That *Bacchus* remained in Beethoven's

<sup>5</sup>. See Pamela J. Willetts, *Beethoven and England* (London 1970), 10-11. A facsimile of the page may be found in Hans Boettcher, *Beethovens Homer-Studien, Die Musik* 19 (1927), 484.

<sup>6</sup>. In *Beethoven Studies* III, ed. A. Tyson (Cambridge 1982), 193-288. In these pages, Beethoven copies five passages from Voss's *Homer* (the *Odyssey* canon is from Solomon's para.74), also quotations from Hesiod, Ovid, Pliny, Plutarch.

<sup>7</sup>. A setting of Schiller's *Hektors Abschied* was once wrongly attributed to Beethoven – see Kinsky/Halm *Beiträge zur Beethoven Bibliographie*, Munich 1978, 155. It is in fact by Franz Xaver Kleinheinz, who, incidentally, replaced Beethoven as teacher of Giulietta Guicciardi, dedicatee of the Moonlight Sonata, and once (wrongly) a favourite candidate for the composer's 'Immortal Beloved' (see A. Tyson, op. cit. I, 1973, 12-13).

<sup>8</sup>. See Thayer, op. cit. II, 314-5, and Dean, loc. cit. 384, who mentions also (381) that in 1821 there was another *Bacchus* operatic project involving Alois Jeitteles, poet of the song-cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*.

<sup>9</sup>. The material can best be studied in Nottebohm, op. cit.. It is curiously passed over with only the laconic comment 'Opera on theme from antiquity' in the latest exhaustive treatment of the so-called Scheide scrapbook (named after its present American owner – it used to be named after a previous owner, E. von Miller, and is notable for containing sketches for the Distant Beloved songs), by D. Johnson (ed.), *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, Oxford 1985, 241 ff..

thoughts<sup>10</sup> is no less dramatically suggested by the plans he is known to have made for a second choral symphony even before the completion of the Ninth, when he noted 'Adagio Cantique. Pious song in a symphony in the ancient modes . . . in the text of the Adagio Greek myth, Cantique Ecclesiastique – in the Allegro, feast of Bacchus [*sic*]' (Beethoven became interested in the Greek church modes at the time of the composition of the *Missa Solemnis* and the 'Lydian' *Heilige Dankgesang* of the A minor quartet op.132, and seems to have sought enlightenment from Zarlino's *Le istituzioni armoniche*<sup>11</sup>).

All this – and much more – attests to Beethoven's deep interest in classical literature and mythology. Yet, for all that, I remain sceptical about Currie's assertion about the Alcaic character of the *Egmont* theme. In the first place, although Horace predominantly uses a long syllable in the first syllable of the lines of the Alcaic stanza, unlike the *anceps* favoured by the Greek poets, it seems that the German imitations by Klopstock, Voss and others on the whole preferred the short syllable as a sort of upbeat in the line. H.G. Atkins (*A History of German Versification*, London 1923, 2456) states 'The rhythm was trochaic-dactylic, with anacrusis in the first three lines. The German Alcaics follow the classical model with varying degrees of fidelity, the tendency on the whole being to employ the lighter syllable in the cases where the alternative is offered'<sup>12</sup>. Now this is certainly contrary to the firm impact of the first note of the *Egmont* theme, especially if one has regard for its *initial* appearance in the grim Adagio introduction (bars 2ff.), where only the first five notes of the 'Alcaic' line are used, or for the insistent triple repetition of this rhythm (bars 259ff.) by horns, then full orchestra, just before the two-note stroke of the executioner's sword preceding the onrush of the 'Victory Symphony'. Indeed, many critics, who have seen a degree of conscious, or sub-conscious, 'programme-music' in the overture, regard the plaintive six-note wood-wind response to the strong string motif as separable, representing the supplication of the Netherlands in the face of implacable tyranny<sup>13</sup>.

Secondly, there are frankly plenty of striking coincidences of well-known themes of classical music with Greek *metra* or lines of verse. No one, I imagine, would think that Mozart intended us to recognise (to say nothing of himself being aware of) a splendid succession of paroemiac lines ( ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ) in the opening theme of his familiar G minor symphony K.550. It is, I think, psychologically much more relevant to notice the coincidence of its nervous, restless rhythm with that of Cherubino's aria from *Figaro*, 'Non sò più cosa son, cosa faccio', where the amorous youth describes his emotional reaction to the presence of the opposite sex – not exactly the *ethos* of Greek paroemiacs.

It is not surprising that Beethoven above all composers supplies the best examples of rhythmical motifs which recall to use Greek prototype. Years ago, Sir Donald Tovey (*Essays in Musical Analysis* I.39-40) perceptively noted how many famous Beethoven themes could be


<sup>10</sup>. In a letter to Franz Brentano in 1816 (Anderson II no.619) he recommended a friend 'suitable as high priest at a Bacchus sacrifice. There is no man who can produce a better Evoo! Evoo!'. Bettina von Arnim, in a letter to Goethe in 1810 (see Thayer II, 187) quotes the composer's words 'I am the Bacchus who presses out this glorious wine for mankind and makes them spiritually drunken'. For the source of the *Adagio Cantique*, see M.Cooper, *Beethoven: the Last Decade* (Oxford 1970), 277.

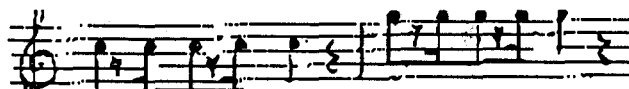
<sup>11</sup>. See Tyson, *Beethoven Studies* III, 162, W.Mellers, *Beethoven and the Voice of God* (London 1983), 321, M.Cooper, op. cit. 127. Beethoven, who knew Plato's *Republic*, would undoubtedly have been fascinated by the musical material in books 3-4. Schindler's statement that he knew it through Schleiermacher's translation is rejected by McArdle (op. cit 190) on the ground that this did not appear until the year after the composer's death. But he is wrong: Schleiermacher's Plato was published between 1804-10, and there is even an entry in the *Conversation Books* of March 1820, where it is being recommended, in a discussion concerning music and philosophy.

<sup>12</sup>. To my ear, this seems true of almost all the opening syllables of the first and second lines of the German stanzas quoted in Currie's article. I notice that in the metrical pattern set at the head of Klopstock's Alcaics in editions c.1800, which Beethoven might have used, the initial syllable is inevitably given as short.

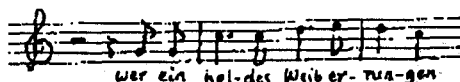
<sup>13</sup>. See, for example, Thayer quoted in the preface to the Eulenberg score, and L.Misch, *Beethoven Studies* (Oklahoma 1955), 78.

readily identified by musicians by the transcription of the rhythm alone without the melody. Some of these, I believe, could be said – though doubtless coincidental, rather than consciously derivative – to attest to a natural human urge, appreciable alike by those living in the 6/5th century B.C. or 19/20th century A.D.. I think particularly of the striking use of both paeonic (˘ ˘ ˘ ˘) and cretic (˘ ˘ ˘) rhythms in the finale of the seventh symphony, the former dominating the whole movement, the latter the second subject at bars 74ff.. This is of course the symphony notoriously characterised as ‘ripe for the mad-house’ (attributed to Weber), ‘the apotheosis of the dance’ (Wagner), and ‘Bacchic’ or ‘Dionysiac’ by many a writer of analyses or programme-notes not likely to have been aware that the ancients too associated these rhythms with energetic dancing – Aristides Quintilianus (p.82.28 W.-I.) called the hemiolic metres ἐνθουσιαστικώτεροι (incidentally, the energetic second subject of the finale of the fifth symphony at bars 44ff. is the reverse form of paeon (˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ etc.).

The insistent dactylic (or approximately dactylic, as it is actually the ‘cyclic’ form ) rhythm of the first movement of the seventh gives it an impetus comparable to the onrush of the Homeric hexameter, while the sombre ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ of the following slow movement coincides with the Greek lament ὦ τὸν Ἀδωνιν which gave this metre its name, and might be said also to have a degree of appropriateness, though again quite accidentally. But whereas the hypodochmiac (˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘) opening of the finale of *Fidelio*



might also be said to register the excitement of the corresponding Greek metre, one would scarcely declare the *ethos* of the great jubilant closing chorus



to be an appropriate use of the Greek Anacreontic line ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ with which it coincides, variously disparaged as κεκλασμένος, τρυφερός, φορτικός by ancient metricians – a far more suitable modern equivalent in *ethos* would be the little ditty ‘You should see me dance the polka’, the following line of which even happens to revert too the straight ionic dimeter ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘!

Other coincidences in Beethoven themes include the basically epitritic (˘ ˘ ˘ ˘) rhythm which begins the *Credo* of the *Missa Solemnis*, or one of the insistent rhythms of the scherzo of the ninth (bar 85ff.) ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, which Miss Dale in her *Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* calls a ‘choriambic enneasyllabic pendant’. One of the nicer coincidences – in subject matter as well as metre – is in the *Ode to Joy* itself. Schiller’s words, if viewed as stanzas of two long, rather than four short, lines, present perfect specimens of Greek trochaic tetrameters catalectic, although in his musical setting Beethoven prefers uniform crotchets for the short, or unstressed, syllables, apart from penultimate quavers in three out of four lines. It is rather agreeable how line 701 from the parabasis of *Frogs*, πάντανθρώπους ἐκόντες συγγενεῖς κτησώμεθα, pre-echoes the very Beethovenian sentiment of Schiller’s ‘Alle Menschen werden Brüder’<sup>14</sup>.

Finally, in a post-script to his article Currie has drawn our attention to Anton Bruckner’s passion for railways and the sound of engines. Of the great composers, Bruckner is probably second only to Beethoven in his liking for insistent and readily identifiable rhythms, and I have long been struck how the scherzos of both his seventh and ninth symphonies pound out ionic metres with all the synoptic impetus of a Dionysiac *thiasos*, though the former starts with its stress on the first beat ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ (etc.), and the latter (bar

14. One recalls also Don Fernando’s ‘Es sucht der Bruder seiner Brüder, und kann er helfen, hilft er gern’ in the moment of reconciliation in *Fidelio*. In his copy of Voss’s *Odyssey*, Beethoven not only marked the last lines of *Od.8*, but adds a decisive ‘Ja!’ in the margin. Stanford describes the ‘mellow mood of universal benevolence and good fellowship’ of these lines.

42ff.) on the first long syllable ~ ~ - - - - (etc). I suppose that the trumpet tune which is superimposed on the underlying rhythm in the former approximates to what Miss Dale calls 'Dodrans B' and others 'Maecenas' after the first half of the familiar Horatian Asclepiadic line (~ - - ~ ~ -)<sup>15</sup>.

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H. D. Jocelyn (Manchester): *Plautus, Captivi* 887-9

LCM 14.2/3 (Feb./Mar.1989), 28

: : *sed Stalagmus quouis erat tunc nationis† cum hinc abit†?*  
 : : *Siculus* (Camerarius: *sicuius*). : : *at nunc Siculus* (Camerarius : *et nunc*  
*sicuius*) *non est, Boius est: boiam terit;*  
*liberorum quaerendorum causa ei, credo, uxor datast.*

The *parasitus* makes a joke about the old man's run-away slave that is clearly related both to Rome's troubled relations with the Celtic inhabitants of Bononia and the surrounding area and to a vulgar use of the verb *terere*. Eduard Fraenkel punctuated the passage correctly and explained its typically Plautine argumentative structure (*Plautinisches im Plautus*, Berlin 1922 [*Philologische Untersuchungen* 28], 41).

The association between instruments of restraint and sexual partners was not, however, an idea foreign to Greek culture. The κλοιός had the shape and function of the *boia* (see F. D. Allen, *HSCPh* 7 [1896], 44-5). Artemidorus reports (4.65, p.288 Pack) from a predecessor the dream of copulating with iron (ἔδοξε τις σιδήρῳ πλησιάζειν γυναικί) and the subsequent enslavement of the dreamer. Vulgar and not-so-vulgar users of the Greek language transferred the verb *τριβειν* to the area of sexuality: for *δυνατρίβειν* see Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1149; for *παιδοτρίβειν* Automedon, *A.P.* 12. 34.6, Straton, *A.P.* 12. 222.2; for *τριβός* Vettius Valens, p.111.4-8 Kroll (Seneca, *Contr.* 1.2.23 shows the formation to be much earlier). It is almost certain that Attic comedy employed both *πορνότριψ* (see Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 390 *πορνόκοπος*· οὕτω Μένανδρος, οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι πορνότριψ λέγουσιν) and *πεδότριψ* (evidenced first in the Atticising Lucian, *Ti m.* 14, *Sat.* 8). The combinatory possibilities are plain.

There may therefore have been at least something in the Greek original of the *Captivi* behind Plautus' very Roman joke.

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<sup>15</sup> Puzzled as I frequently am by the obtuseness of undergraduates at either identifying or recollecting even the common definable metrical units of Greek lyric, I have found it most useful to associate, for mnemonic purposes, familiar phrases of music or poetry with the Greek *metra*. For example, two of the common forms of Euripides' favourite 'polyschematic dimeters' - ~ ~ - ~ - ~ - ~ and - ~ ~ - ~ ~ - ~ - ~ coincide (making the usual allowances as regards stress v. quantity) with the opening lines of 'Humpty Dumpty' and 'Little Bo-peep' respectively, and the ithyphallic ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ with 'O to be in England' or 'I belong to Glasgow', according to which side of the border one hails from. The awkward Eupolidean line of the parabasis at *Clouds* 518 ὦ θεῶμενοι κατερῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρως presents a pleasingly bizarre (and thoroughly Aristophanic) attachment to the opening fanfare of the *Flying Dutchman* overture to 'Half-a-pound of twopenny rice'. I have noticed, incidentally, how, in the time-honoured mnemonic about 'the wise kangaroos' sometimes used to characterise the basic form of dochmiac ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ speakers of this, or its Greek equivalents, to quote Miss Dale, 'almost inevitably falsify the time-relations in our craving for some kind of equidistant beat', and regularly give the second syllable a timing equivalent to three, rather than two, short syllables. But the important syncopation of this agitated Greek metre is really better served by the old popular song of the 1940s, 'If you knew Suzie like I know Suzie' – even if the *ethos* of this tribute to that estimable young lady is hardly comparable to that of the double invocation of Apollo in *O.T.* 1329.

P.G.Naiditch (Dept. of Special Collections, Research Library, UCLA): A.E.Housman and W.M.Lindsay: *Two notes* LCM 14.2/3 (Feb./Mar.1989)29-31

I. A.E.Housman, referring to be the belief in Nicaeus' edition of Juvenal, writes (*M. Annaei Lucani belli ciuilis libri decem*, Oxford 1926, p.xvii):

This belief was accepted by scholars whose analytical faculty did not enable them to detect any error in this reasoning. But Mr Duff in 1898 quietly ignored the whole fuss, and I in 1905 dismissed it in a few derisive words (p.xxviii) which echo for ever in the memory of Mr W.M.Lindsay.<sup>1</sup>

To determine the words that echoed forever in Lindsay's memory, one need only follow Housman's instructions, and read (*D.Iunii Iuuenalis saturae*, London 1905, p.xxviii):

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<sup>1</sup> For Wallace Martin Lindsay (1858-1937), see I.Elliot, *The Balliol College Register*, Oxford 1934, p.104; *Glasgow Herald* Feb.22, 1937, p.13c., & Feb.23, 1937, pp.12de; *Times* Feb.22, 1937, pp.176b & 19e, with Feb.23, 1937, p.16b; CR 51, May 1937, p.50; H.J.Rose, *PBA* 23, 1937, pp.487-512, *JAW* 262, 1938, pp.15-27; C.J.Fordyce *DNB* 1931-40, pp.537-8; *Who Was Who* 3, p.812; A.O., *Emerita* 10.2, 1942, p.390; cp. *Gnomon* 13, April 1937, p.224. Cf. C.M.Bowra, *Memories: 1898-1939*, London 1966, p.253; *The Letters of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*, ed. W.W.Briggs Jr., Baltimore 1987, index; T.F.Higham, *Dr. Blakiston Recalled*, Oxford 1967, p.39; F.G.Maier, *PBA* 67, 1981, p.433; R.D'A.Thompson, *D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson*, Oxford 1958, p.165; *Times*, Feb.25 1937, p.17f., Feb.27, 1937, p.14c.; J.M.Wylie, *The Oxford Dictionary Slanders*, ed. 2, Guernsey 1965, p.476; Douglas Young, *Chasing an Ancient Greek*, London 1950, pp.14-15, 103.

One postcard and one letter from Housman to Lindsay survive (P.Godman, *PCPS* no 204, 1978, pp.41-2; cf. Naiditch, *Housman Society Journal* 9, 1983, pp.63-64 & 10, 1984, p.87). One postcard from Lindsay to Housman is extant (May 21, 1920: Trinity College, Cambridge, with Adv. c 20.39). Not impossibly, Housman and Lindsay had met at Oxford, for they were elected members of the Oxford Union Society on the same day (*Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduates' Journal* no.252, Feb.7, 1878, p.202). But there do not in fact seem to be any stories of their meeting.

Housman owned many of Lindsay's works, of which the following are known: (a) *Nonius Marcellus* ed. J.H.Onions, Oxford 1895 (Trinity, Adv. c 20.58); (b) *The Captivi of Plautus*, London 1900 (St John's College, Oxford, A.E.Housman Cabinet I row 1, shelf 5); (c) *Nonius Marcellus*, Leipzig 1903 (Waseda University, Tokyo, Gow Collection c 726); *M. Val. Martialis epigrammata*, Oxford 1903 (Merton College, Oxford, 27 B 5); (e) *The Ancient Editions of Plautus*, Oxford 1904 (St John's I.1.5); (f) *Isidorus Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum siue originum*, Oxford [1911] (private collection; I am grateful to Archie Burnett, Oxford, for this information); (g) *Sextus Pompeius Festus*, Leipzig 1913 (Waseda c 451); and (h) *Glossaria Latina I-IV*, Paris 1926-1930 (Trinity, Lower Library 268 G 100-102).

Housman admired Lindsay's abilities as a palaeographer (*Iuuen.* 1931 p.liv), and he spoke highly of his *apparatus criticus* to Martial (*Cl. pap.* p.1099, though see also *ibid.* pp.899 & 1239); he thought less well of Lindsay as a metrist (Housman to D.S.Robertson, Oct.9, 1931; *K.W.Rendell* cat.93, 1974, no.1201); he believed him less intelligent though more honest than Franz Skutsch (Ms. lemma 'in favour of this opinion Mr Vollmer' [Adelman Collection, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania]; and he had hardly any respect for his abilities as a textual critic. Indeed, when Housman wrote 'One sees books calling themselves introductions to textual criticism which contain nothing about textual criticism from beginning to end' (*ibid.* p.1058), he had particularly in mind Lindsay's *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation*, London 1896 (U Lib, Cambridge, Add.Ms 6874 pp.1, 21 sqq.). In Housman's view, Lindsay placed excessive reliance on mechanical aids (*Cl. Pap.* p.954; cf. *ibid.* p.957, and Notebook X p.160 [Adelman Coll., Bryn Mawr; copy, Sparrow Collection, St John's II row 2, shelf 3]). In short, Housman judged Lindsay's theory and practice of textual criticism about equally bad (cf. *Cl. Pap.* p.1102; cp. Notebook X pp.156, 164, 167; Notebook Y p.16 [Bryn Mawr; Sparrow]).

For his part, Lindsay deplored Housman's discourteous tone of writing; without naming Housman, he criticised his treatment of Garrod in 'The *Thyestes* of Varius', noting that he 'revealed his own ignorance by assuming that it was the scribe of the Paris MS. who had the lost tragedy of Varius before him' (CQ 19, July/Oct. 1922, p.180). But Lindsay recognised his talent and seems to have especially approved of his edition of Lucan (Bowra, *Memories*).



'Nothing,' I hear it asked, 'about Nicaeus? Nothing about Epicarpus, nor Hericus, nor the long-resounding name of Exuperantius?' No, nothing. The truth is, and the reader has discovered it by this time if he did not know it beforehand, that I have no inkling of *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*.

(Housman adapts the words from F. Vollmer's review of his work [BPhW Jan 23, 1904, c.104])

Lindsay was much interested in '*Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*' (cf. H.J. Rose, *PBA* 23, 1937, p.493), and it is thus a fair inference that Housman's dismissal of this discipline annoyed him. The matter is put beyond doubt by his review of Housman's *Juvenal*: 'Mr Housman's sneer at "*Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*" . . . refers, I suppose, to the ancient transmission of texts. (*CR* 19, Dec.1905, p.465 n.1). But a single outcry against Housman's words, especially one which occurs in the same year as Housman's book, cannot be made to signify 'a few derisive words . . . which echo for ever in the memory of W.M. Lindsay'. Some later reference is consequently required.

The following, in a review of A.C. Clark's *The Descent of Manuscripts*, may serve to show that Housman was innocent of unconscionable exaggeration (*Oxford Magazine* 36, June 7 1918, p.314):

Scholars are at present in two camps. The Cambridge Professor of Latin has boasted that he has 'no inkling of *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*'. He will hear nothing of the usefulness of palaeography for the emendation of texts. Will a book of this form win him over? Or what will be his comment? Mr Punch's cartoon of Disraeli reading Gladstone's *Homer* and Gladstone reading Disraeli's *Lothair* suggests a picture of the Cambridge Professor reading *The Descent of Manuscripts*, and his Oxford colleague reading, let us say, the edition of *Juvenal editorum in usum*. 'Ha, prosy!', 'Hm. flippant!'. But in this case the prosy book will outlive the flippant.

Lindsay had been persuaded by Clark: 'One cannot help wondering whether all this array of numbers was really required, since one finds oneself convinced before a quarter has been read' (*ibid.*). Housman was less impressed by the book (marginalia in his copy: Trinity, Adv.c 20.59). G. Thomas Tanselle has cited *The Descent of Manuscripts* as 'an example of an inept effort to base textual decisions on physical evidence' (*Studies in Bibliography* 36, 1983, p.36 n.20).

A dozen years is not 'for ever', but it is a long enough period, even if no further evidence be found, partly to justify Housman's remark in the *Lucan* of 1926.

II. A.S.F. Gow, *A.E. Housman: a Sketch*, Cambridge 1936, p.30: 'When a German whom Housman had often criticised charged an English reviewer with misrepresenting him, Housman was on the point of intervening in the discussion on the side of the German, and the paper which he began but did not finish was outspoken in indignation'. Gow reserved this unfinished paper, called 'A Note on Conduct', and gave it to Trinity College, Cambridge (Add.Ms a 72.3 [27, 40]). It is therefore no difficult task to identify both the German and his reviewer, and the occasion for Housman's anger.

The German was Friedrich Leo<sup>2</sup>. And when Gow affirmed that Housman had often

<sup>2</sup> For Friedrich Leo (1852-1914), see *Wer Ist's?* ed.6, Leipzig 1912, p.934; W.M. Lindsay, *CR* 28, Feb.1914, pp.30-31; G. Pasquali, *Rfil* 42, 1914, pp.334-8; E. Fitch, *CW* 8, Oct.31, 1914, p.40 = *BPhW* 34, Dec.26, 1914, cc.1647-8; M. Pohlenz, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur* 33, 1914, pp.297-316; P. Wendland, *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen*

criticised him, he spoke the truth (cf. Housman, *Cl.Pap.* pp.235, 271, 563, 567; *Manil.* I p.xlvi; *Luc.* p.xx n.). But it is a truth that needs a word of comment. Sometimes, Housman spoke of him with favour (cf. Housman, *Cl.Pap.* pp.48, 235, 569, 572, 586, 589, 591, 593, 786, 796; W.M.Calder III, *AJP* 108, 1987, p.169; cp. *Manil.* I p.xlvi), and his harshest criticism was published only after Leo was no longer alive to feel its sting (see Housman, *Iuuen.* [1931] p.xxxvii).

The Englishman, as Gow chose to call him, was W.M.Lindsay; and Housman's 'A Note on Conduct' was occasioned by Lindsay's own 'Note on Plautus', *CQ* 7, April 1913, p.119. In this brief paper, Lindsay asserted that Leo has now recanted his heresy regarding the corrupt state of the *Truculentus*. This recantation was, as Housman perceived, a recantation only if the word had lost its meaning. When Lindsay accused Leo of using the corrupt state of the text as evidence for a certain conclusion (*BPhW* 32, Dec.14 1912, c.128; *CQ* 7, Jan.1913, p.10), Leo indignantly replied that he had done nothing of the kind and that his words had been misrepresented (*BPhW* 33, Jan. 24 1913, c.128). Lindsay, whose paper in *CQ* should already have been submitted, then made a very unsatisfactory response: 'I am sorry if I have been guilty of misrepresenting Prof. Leo's statement on the *Truculentus*. I must leave it to his readers to decide whether I have been guilty or not' (*BPhW* 33 c.128).

In Housman's estimation, Lindsay was guilty, first, of failing to read the book he had agreed to review, the second edition of Leo's *Forschungen*; secondly, as a result of the first fault, accusing Leo of a blunder that the author had not committed in this work; thirdly, of pretending that Leo had 'now' recanted the error which in fact he had not made in the book; and, fourthly, of pretending to innocence by thus inviting his readers to decide the merits of the case.

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**W.Geoffrey Arnott** (Leeds): *A second fragment of Alexis' Minos?* LCM 14.2/3 (Feb./Mar.1989), 31-33

Athenaeus 7.289f alleges that *μνημονεύει . . . τοῦ Μενεκράτους καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Μίνω* (fr.136 Kock, Edmonds). This is the only known reference to *Μίνως* as a play title of Alexis, and so some scholars have thought it probable that the *paradosis* here (= the *codex Maricanus*, written at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century A.D.: cf. Wilson, *JHS* 82 [1962], 147ff.) is corrupt and should be altered from *Μίνω* to *Αλίνω*, thus providing a second fragment for a play which is known to have travestied the story of Heracles' education by Linus (fr.135). Meineke, who originated this conjecture (*Quaestionum scaenicarum specimen III*, Berlin 1830, 35; cf. *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, III.445), wavered between its acceptance and retention of the transmitted text (*FCG* I.392), and subsequent discussions have not resolved the issue. Some (e.g. Kock; Edmonds; Bothe, *Poetarum Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 548f.; Webster, *CQ* ns2 [1952], 18) have accepted *Αλίνω*: some have accepted (Kaibel, edition of

1914 pt.1 pp.75-96; cf. W.M.Calder III, *Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: Selected Correspondence*, Naples 1983, index; Calder/R.L.Fowler, 'The Preserved Letters of U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to Eduard Schwarz', *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. Sb* 1986 Heft I, index; *The Letters of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve* ed. W.W.Briggs Jr., Baltimore 1987, pp.280, 283 n.5; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen*, ed.2, Leipzig 1928, index.

Only seven of Leo's works are known from Housman's library: (a) *De Senecae tragoediis observationes criticae*, Berlin 1878 (St John's I b 1); (b) *L.Annaei Senecae tragoediae*, Berlin 1879 (ibid); *Culex carmen Virgilio ascriptus*, Berlin 1891 (ibid. I b 3); (d) *D.Stati siluis commentatio*, Gottingae 1892/3 (ibid. I b 2); (e) *Plauti comoediae*, Berlin 1895/6 (University of Chicago; I am grateful to Andrew Dyck, UCLA, for this information); (f); *Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis* I, Gottingae 1896 (U.Lib., Cambridge Pam.4.89, 189); (g) *De Ciri carmine coniectanea*, ibid. Pam.4.90, 363). There is no evidence of Leo and Housman being in communication.

Athenaeus, ad loc.) or argued for (Weinrich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus*, *Tübinger Beiträge* 18 [1933], 98f.; Bain, *Actors and Audience*, Oxford 1977, 216f.) *Μίνω*.

In a conflict where the evidence is so scanty, a definitive resolution seems impossible. Yet there may be one scrap of evidence in support of the title *Μίνω* that has not so far been adduced. It is uncertain, speculative, but perhaps worth canvassing here in a periodical where provocation and controversy often reign over pedestrian dullness.

If Alexis wrote a *Μίνω*, his play is most likely to have been a travesty of one or more of the myths involving the legendary king of Crete, with or without some element of tragic parody. The Minos legends were a popular quarry for Attic tragedians. Euripides' *Theseus* dealt with the Minotaur, his *Kretes* with Pasiphae (Minos was a character in it); Sophocles' *Daidalos* treated the inventor, his *Kamikoi* the story of Kokalos. Several plays featured the story of Polyidos: probably Aeschylus' *Kressai*, certainly Euripides' *Polyidos* and Sophocles' *Manteis* or *Polyidos*. Comedies about Minos also abounded, down to the middle of the 4th century B.C.; we do not know how many simply burlesqued a myth, how many parodied specific tragedies. Titles known include Aristophanes' *Daidalos* (in which the stories of the inventor and Zeus' seduction of Leda seem to have been mingled, cf. Kassel-Austin III.2, 116), *Kokalos* and *Polyidos*; Plato's *Daidalos*, Alcaeus' *Pasiphae*, Antiphanes' *Minos*, Eubulus' (or Philippus') *Daidalos* (cf. Hunter, 110).

It may be either significant or an accident of preserved information that four plays dealt with the strange legend of Polyidos, the seer from mainland Greece who came to Crete, where Glaukos, the son of Minos and Pasiphae, had mysteriously disappeared and the local prophets were unable to find him or to interpret a mysterious oracle about a calf. Polyidos solved the oracle, discovered Glaukos who had drowned in a pot of honey after chasing a mouse), and restored him to life by imitating the actions of a snake (cf. Apollodorus 3.3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 34 and *Poet. Astr.* 2.14; Höfer in Roscher, s.v. *Polyeidos* 2; Robert, *Griechische Heldensage*, 197ff.; Bernert in *RE* s.v. *Polyidos* 1). Sophocles appears to have named his tragedy *Μάντεις* after the prophets of Crete who failed Minos in his double quandary, although we have no means of knowing whether these title figures were the play's chorus or a group of characters represented by one spokesman and several mutes (cf. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 216; Pearson, II.56; Radt, 338). Only one other play with the title *Μάντεις* is known from ancient Greece – a comedy by Alexis from which Athenaeus 13.558e cites a single fragment (146 Kock, Edmonds), where a disgruntled husband complains about the consequences of men marrying richly dowried wives. No other comic title offers a plurality of prophets, although several in Greek and Roman comedy provide seers in the singular (Antiphanes' *Οἰωνιστὲς* and *Μητρ* or *Μηναγύρτης*, Menander's *Μηναγύρτης*, Philemon's *Ἀγύρτης*, Naevius' *Ariolus*, Afranius' and Pomponius' *Augur*, which is also the title of a mime by Laberius).

It is of course possible that Alexis, whose dramatic career spanned the periods of Middle and New Comedy, could have introduced two or more prophets into a play of conventional New-Comedy intrigue; it is equally possible that his prophets could have been a chorus or a succession of *δλαζόνες* in an early play of his designed to ridicule their pronouncements on contemporary issues (cf. the scenes with the *χρησμόλογος* and *λερεύς* in Aristophanes' *Birds*); yet it is no less likely that these prophets appeared either as chorus or individual characters in a myth travesty about Minos, Polyidos and the incompetent seers of Crete. If the last of these possibilities is considered – there is obviously not enough evidence for it to be uncritically accepted – the community of title between Sophocles and Alexis might lead one to ask a series of related questions. Might not Alexis have intended to guy, at least partially, Sophocles' *Manteis* or *Polyidos*? In that event, would not Minos himself in all likelihood have been a character in Alexis' *Μάντεις*? In that event, could not *Μίνω* have been an alternative title for Alexis' *Μάντεις*? When alternative titles are recorded in antiquity for the same play, one of the titles is often the name of that play's leading character (cf. Hunter's edition of Eubulus, 146ff.).

The subject-matter of Alexis fr.146 neither supports nor opposes the above speculations. Husbands who lament the dangers of marrying dowried wives are a familiar feature in New Comedy (e.g. Menander fr.333-5 from the *Plokion*; Plautus, *Asinaria* 87, *Aulularia* 497ff., 532ff.), but they occur also in Aristophanes (e.g. *Clouds* 41ff.) and Middle Comedy (e.g. Antiphanes fr.329, Anaxandrides fr.52). Myth travesty flourished down to the middle of the 4th century, and a favourite technique of the comic poets who wrote it was to portray the heroines and heroes of myth as if they were ordinary contemporary Athenians faced with everyday situations. For example, in Alexis' *Αἴνος* (fr.135) the title figure is presented teaching Herakles about literature; papyrus rolls of authors known to 4th-century audiences (e.g. Homer, Hesiod, tragedy) are lying around, but Herakles chooses a modern *ὀψαρτυσία*. A scene in the *Μάντις ἢ Μένως* where a husband in the legend (could it have been Minos himself?) lamented the excesses of dowried wives would be entirely in keeping with the method. Minos may have been a powerful and terrifying king in serious versions of legend, but his transformation in comedy to a henpecked husband with a dominant wife may be less inconceivable when we remember who that wife was. Minos may have been a son of Zeus, but Pasiphae was a daughter of Helios, able by her magical powers to bewitch him (Apollodorus 3.15.1).

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Review: G.B.A.Fletcher (Gosforth)

LCM 14.2/3 (Feb./Mar.1989), 33-34

*Sili Italici Punica edidit Iosephus Delz*, Stutgardiae in Aedibus B.G.Teubneri, 1987. Pp.lxxviii + 528. Cloth, £60. ISBN 3-519-01804-7

This valuable book is the result of work begun more than thirty-five years ago. A preface of nearly seventy pages describes more than thirty manuscripts with abundant bibliographical references. There follows a bibliography of works referred to in the *apparatus criticus* which contains in many places a brief defence of a manuscript reading or of a conjecture

2.325 *belli absistis*. D. quotes Livy 21.6.8 *si non absisterentur bello*. In verse cf. Hor. *Sat.*1.3.104 *asbsistere bello*, Virg.*A.*11.307 *absistere ferro*, Val.*Fl.*3.451 *absistite bellis*, Stat.*T.*5.669 *absistite ferro*, Sil.7.394 *pugna absistite*.

2.606-7 *condita bello | effodiunt penitus terrae*. D.finds a defence of the dative *terrae* dependent on *effodiunt* in Virgil *G.*2.290 *penitus terrae defigitur arbor*.

4.806 *trepidare metu uix compos*. Heinsius conjectured *sui* for *metu*. D. rightly rejects it. Cf. Livy 4.40.3 *uix prae gaudio compotes*.

5.298 *humo . . . haud umquam ualuisset uellere saxum*. D. cites in defence of *uellere* against *tollere* Stat. *T.*2.559-61 *saxum . . . quod uix . . . uertere humo ualeant . . . rupibus euellit*. Cf. Virgil *A.*10.381 *magno uellit . . . pondere saxum*.

6.177-8 *mixtam stridore procellam | Cerbereo torquens*. I have already pointed out that Duff's translation 'a hurricane in which the baying of Cerberus was heard', with his note 'the mention of Cerberus implies that a passage to the nether world was opened up', is wrong. For the meaning of *Cerbereo* I compared Ov.*M.*1465. At Sil.16.314 Duff translates *aequoreo fremitu* by 'with a noise like the sound of the sea', and so the words are understood in P.G.W.Glare's *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, but *aequoreo* refers to *aequor* in the sense of 'field' or 'plain'.

6.543-4 *torpor iners*. For the conjecture *torpor* cf. Stat. *Silu.*5.3.260 *torpor iners*.

6.619 *circumspectius nulli deprensus in armis*. Duff translates *deprensus* by 'surprised'. D. accepts van Veen's interpretation 'equalled'. van Veen compared Stast. *Silu.*4.4.74 *deprende parentem* which means not 'overtake thy sire', as J.H.Mozley translates, but 'equal thy sire'. Cf. Stat. *T.*6.568 *emissum cursu deprendere telum*, where Mozley again translates *deprendere* by 'overtake' instead of 'equal', and Sen. *H.F.*224 *depressa cursu*.



7.209 *it monti decus*. D. cites Val.Fl.4.216-7 *omnibus idem ibi honos*, but does not say that it was cited by Bauer. I have quoted Ovid A.A.3.428, Sen. *H.O.*1970 and Stat. *T.*6.722-3.

7.548 *haec . . . instat*. These words refer to speech. D. well cites Virgil A.8.433-4 *Marti currumque rotasque uolucris instabant* 'they were eagerly fashioning a chariot and flying wheels'.

8.114 *uoluens . . . murmur*. D. accepts the conjecture *soluens*. Cf. 11.113 and Stat. *T.*10.440.

12.131 *pallente sub umbra*. Cortius conjectured *squalente* with which D. compares 1.83 *squalentibus imbris*. Cf. Virgil *G.*3.357 *Sol pallentes haud umquam discutit umbras*.

12.451 *auet* is given as a conjecture made by Ker. It was made centuries earlier by Nicander.

123.764 *cursu*. Modius conjectured *cursim*. D. says that poets avoid the word. It is in Manil.4.198.

17.339-40 *ora soluere ad effatus*. Cf. Ov. *M.*3.261 *linguam ad iurgia soluit*.

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Review discussion concluded: J.N.Adams (Manchester) LCM 14.2/3 (Feb./Mar.1989), 34-48  
Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance* (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 8, Liverpool 1982), pp. xii + 322. £25. ISBN 0-905205-12-X.

### III Latin and the vernacular before the Carolingian Reforms

It is an assumption fundamental to W.'s case that no distinction was perceived between Proto-Romance and Latin before the Carolingian period. This point has been made before. Note J. Herman, *Le latin vulgaire*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1970, 117: '*Les historiens du VI<sup>e</sup> et du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle font parler leurs personnages en latin et, s'ils mentionnent diverses langues non latines parlées par des étrangers, ils ne parlent jamais d'une différence consciente, sensible entre le latin tel qu'ils le pratiquent et la langue parlée du peuple*'.

There is indeed some literary evidence not cited by W. which does suggest that the vernacular to its speakers *was* Latin; that Latin was not looked upon as a separate language from the language everyone spoke. Paul the Deacon (eighth century) mentions some Bulgars who had settled in Italy (*Hist. Lang.* 5.29). Though they spoke 'Latin', they had not lost their original language: *qui usque hodie in his ut diximus locis habitantes, quamquam et Latine loquantur, linguae tamen propriae usum minime amiserunt*. There could be no question of such people speaking an archaic Latin; the Latin they had picked up was the Proto-Romance of the area in which they had settled. The Frank Chrodegang, according to Paul (*Gesta Episc. Metensium*, Migne PL 95, 720b), not only spoke his native tongue, but was *Latino sermone imbutus*. He was presumably bilingual in Frankish and the Proto-Romance vernacular. The Irishman Gallus, who accompanied Columban to the Continent about 591, was useful to Columban in his work of conversion because he spoke the tongue of the 'barbarians' (the Franks) and also Latin (Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.6, *MGH, SRM IV*, p.289 *Columbanus itaque beato Gallo id iniunxit officii, ut populum ab errore idolatriae ad cultum dei exhortatione salutari reuocaret, quia ipse hanc a domino gratiam meruit, ut non solum Latinae, sed etiam barbaricae locutionis cognitionem non paruam haberet*'). It is not absolutely clear what Walahfrid means here. As an Irishman Gallus may have acquired a bookish Latin which had little in common with Continental vernaculars, but in the context, where his ability to communicate with foreigners is stressed, it is at least possible that Proto-Romance vernacular is meant by *Latinae locutionis*.

The Italian Jonas of Bobbio, who in 643 wrote a *Vita* of Columban in a Latin he no doubt regarded as learned (*MGH, SRM IV.1ff.*), sometimes reveals in an indirect way his attitude to the spoken vernacular and its relationship to written Latin. The stories he related about Columban, who had travelled around Gaul before coming to Italy, where he founded the monastery of Bobbio, had been recounted to him in varieties of the vernacular; it could hardly



have been otherwise. This vernacular he sometimes happily put into Latin guise without comment. A clause such as *cum...retem in alueum iactauisset* (p.77.21), for example, could not have been at any great remove from the spoken language. The classical neuter *rete* goes into Romance as a feminine (e.g. It. *rete*. OFr. *roit*), *iacto*, or rather the modified form *iecto*, displaced the classical *iacio* and lived on (It. *gettare*, Fr. *jeter*), and *alueus* too survived. But occasionally Jonas shows an unwillingness to transfer a vernacular term directly into written Latin without comment. At p.81.19ff., for instance, he describes the theft of Jonas's glove by a crow. The gloves are grandly called *integumenta manuum*, but Jonas also remarks *quos Galli wantos uocant*, thereby revealing the vernacular word which will have been used in the oral version of the story (Fr. *gant*, Prov. *gan*). Cf. p. 75.12 *pomorum paruulorum, quae heremus ille ferebat, quae etiam bullugas uulgo appellant* (Fr. *beloce*: see W.von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, 623f), p. 82.9 *uas quod tiprum nuncupant* (Limous. *tribe*), p.85.14 *ferusculam, quam uulgo homines exquirium uocant* ('squirrel', from Gk. *σκούρος* see W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 8003 for its Romance reflexes).

What all of these words have in common is that they are of non-Latin origin (Germanic, Celtic or Greek). Clearly Jonas drew a distinction between vernacular vocabulary which was of Latin origin, and that which recognisably was not. The reflex *ofianto* was as much a vernacular term as the reflex of Frankish *want*, but it required no apology when put into a written Latin text in Latin form. Jonas did not assign the Latinate and vernacular forms of *iacto* to different languages, whereas he looked upon *want* as belonging to a different language from the language he was writing.

But Jonas has only partially identified Latin and the vernacular. *want(us)* was a vernacular word, but it could not go straight into a Latin text. It is not the vernacular which is conceptually the same as Latin, but the Latin element in the vernacular. This is a crucial point. Jonas, like some others even at this time, had received instruction in classical Latin. He quotes or alludes to classical authors (e.g. Virgil at pp.63.25, 115.13, Livy at 68.14), indulges in poeticising topoi (e.g. p.67.16 *sopor membra laxauit et caecas mundo surgens aurora pepulit tenebras*), and shows an interest in etymology (see p.151.31, with D. Norberg, 'Die Entwicklung des Lateins in Italien von Gregor dem Grossen bis Paulus Diaconus', in A. Önnertfors (ed.), *Mittelateinische Philologie*, Darmstadt 1975, 98). He was therefore well equipped to identify the Latin element in the spoken vernacular, and he might indeed have looked upon this Latin element as indistinguishable from Latin itself. But his attitudes to language and the attitudes of other men of learning such as Paul the Deacon tell us nothing about the attitudes of the uneducated in the seventh and eighth centuries. While a Jonas or a Paul could readily relate a piece of learned Latin prose to the vernacular, that same piece of prose might well have seemed incomprehensible to the uneducated, and indeed written in a foreign language, no matter how it would have been pronounced if read aloud. Literary evidence which seems to imply that Latin and the vernacular were regarded as one and the same language is therefore of limited value. Those who are most likely to have perceived the difference between learned (written) Medieval Latin and the spoken language are the uneducated, and such people by definition do not have a voice in literature. We have to wait for the educated to acknowledge publicly that the uneducated did not understand Latin (in Canon 17 of the Council of Tours in 813: see below, VI), and that recognition will have come long after the time when to some Latin was already a foreign language.

As early as the beginning of the sixth century Caesarius of Arles (*Serm.* 86.1) speaks with some clarity about the need to use *simplex et pedestris sermo* in sermons, because the scholastic language is incomprehensible to the *imperiti et simplices*: *si expositiones sanctarum scripturarum eo ordine et illo eloquio, quo a sanctis patribus sunt expositae, caritatis uestrae auribus uoluerimus intimare, non nisi ad paucos scolasticos cibus doctrinae poterit peruenire, reliqua uero populi multitudo ieiuna remanebit; et ideo rogo humiliter, ut contentae sint eruditae aures uerba rustica aequanimiter sustinere, dummodo*

*totus grex domini simplici et, ut ita dixerim, pedestri sermone pabulum spiritale possit accipere. et quia inperiti et simplices ad scolasticorum altitudinem non possunt ascendere, eruditi se dignentur ad illorum ignorantiam inclinare: quia, quod simplicibus dictum fuerit, et scolastici intellegere possunt; quod autem eruditus fuerit praedicatum, simplices omnino capere non ualebunt.* A century or more later there were still those who were capable of writing the same scholastic language, which by then must have been even less comprehensible to those who had not been formally instructed in its use. It is reasonable to assume that in the seventh century there was a dawning recognition that written Latin and the spoken vernacular were different languages, whatever our sources might seem to be saying on this subject.

W. plays down the gap between written Medieval Latin and the vernacular. At one point (45) he even appears to be suggesting that the linguistic situation in the early Romance communities (i.e. before the Carolingian period) was similar to that in Modern France or England. He continues: 'there may on occasions be visible stylistic variation in syntax and vocabulary between the usage of those who can write and the usage of those who cannot, but there is no general, phonological variation correlated with the ability to write'. One can readily agree with the point made in the last clause: even the educated who could write Latin will have used the same phonological system as everyone else. What I find more difficult to accept is the implication that written Medieval Latin differed only stylistically from the vernacular, that it was 'a written form of the vernacular' (53). The question whether learned written Medieval Latin of the seventh and eighth centuries was a register of the vernacular, or a separate language, is a question of definition which is no more capable of a satisfactory answer than the old question 'when did Latin cease to be spoken?'. Nevertheless, W. ought to have addressed the problem more directly, considering a wider variety of Latin texts.

It is true that vernacular utterances if put into writing would have taken on (to our eyes) a Latinate appearance, because spelling is conservative, and there was for a long time no established way of spelling Romance phonetically. There are texts extant which could be interpreted as the vernacular in writing. B. Bischoff has recently discussed some new examples of '*la langue romane déguisée...en latin*', most notably a description dated to 799 of the Basilique de Saint-Denis: e.g. *habet foras per illos porticos de illa ecclesia columnas capitales LVIII ...habet ipsa ecclesia luminaria mille CCL et mittunt in illa luminaria de oleo modios VIII. . . .* (see '*A propos des gloses de Reichenau. Entre latin et français*', in *La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du moyen-âge*, in the series *Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, no. 589, organised by Y. Lefèvre, 18-21 Oct. 1978: Paris 1981, 55).

But if the vernacular evolved phonetically, it also evolved in morphology and syntax. By the seventh and eighth centuries it is a fair assumption, for example, that the complex noun morphology of the classical language had been drastically remodelled (on the modifications which show through clearly even in Merovingian official texts, see L.F. Sas, *The Noun Declension System in Merovingian Latin*, Paris 1937; cf. Herman, *Le latin vulgaire* 116 for some general remarks on the chronology of morphological change in late Latin). It is one thing to suppose that a vernacular speaker would use old Latinate spellings to represent his evolved pronunciation, but another to accept that the inflectional system of classical Latin would come easily to his pen if he set out to write what he considered to be the vernacular. I can agree with W. (42) that no educated person of the time would have actively used much of the old morphology in speech, but I would place more emphasis on the effort of learning needed to use that old morphology in writing. The presence of a high degree of classical morphology and syntax, used creatively, in certain pre-Reform texts is difficult to account for unless one accepts that their authors had learnt archaic Latin as a separate, written language. Take, for example, the letter written by the Italian bishop Damian to the Byzantine emperor in A.D. 679 (Migne, *PL* 87, 1261). It begins as follows: *si apicem imperialis fastigii et infulas sacratissimae potestatis auis et proavis uestris caelitus attributum cognouimus, et pro*

*meritorum actibus ad uos propagatum scimus, dignum est his uos aequiperare uestigiis, quorum et celsitudinem obtinetis; nec disparilia debent esse instrumenta caelestia, ubi paria possidentur sceptrata regalia.* Is this formal vernacular, or a defunct language now used only as a written form of communication by the highly educated? There is no sign here or elsewhere in the letter of prepositions encroaching on the case system, which is used correctly by classical standards. Verb morphology (e.g. the passive) is unaffected. The word order is artificial (note the hyperbaton *his . . . uestigiis*). Learned syntax is in evidence (e.g. the acc. + infin. construction). A significant proportion of the words used were not to survive in the Romance languages, and most of these probably had no currency in the vernacular. If the letter had been read aloud in the vernacular manner to an illiterate speaker, a good deal of the vocabulary would have been incomprehensible, and the syntactic relationship of the words unclear. Damian did not succeed in writing thus by Latinising his vernacular.

Jonas too shows a fair command of classical morphology and syntax. Note, for example, *Vita Columbani* p. 67.29ff. *aetherea etenim axis siderum distinctione flauescens, de frequentia celebrae lucis speciosior est; sicut diei lux, Phoebi aucta splendore, mundo amoena refulget, ita corpus ecclesiae, cum conditoris ditata opibus, sanctorum augmentata numero, et scientiae religione nitescit, ut ex frequentia doctorum pullulent lucra subsequentum. et ut sol uel luna astraque omnia noctem diemque suo nitore nobilitant, ita sanctorum merita sacerdotum ecclesiae monumenta roborant.* Many of the words used here did not live on into Romance. There are just two prepositional expressions in the passage, neither of them remarkable, but 22 words in oblique cases other than the accusative. More than one-third of the words in the passage therefore have case endings which there is reason to believe would have been either obsolete or obsolescent in vernacular speech. There is a difference of degree between the amount of old-fashioned morphology on display here, and that which can be found in certain formal registers of English (such as that of lawyers) which W. sometimes brings in for comparison. More than once the English archaic ending *-eth*, as in *witnesseth*, is mentioned (e.g. 42, 65), but it provides a weak parallel for the quantity of morphological archaism in the above passage. On p. 42 W. writes: 'the morphological endings preserved on paper...would have formed a subsection of the passive vocabulary of those who could read and write, as comparable English forms such as *-eth* do now'. The old endings in Jonas and others are not parts of a 'passive vocabulary', which could be sprinkled about here and there to give a piece of writing a formal flavour. They form a complete morphological system, which Jonas obviously knew, and which differed from the morphological system of the spoken vernacular.

W. does sometimes touch on the problems raised by the morphology and syntax of the written language (e.g. 42, 75). On pp.61ff. he discusses some eighth century legal documents. It is suggested (64) that the lawyers who drafted them 'did not know of "Latin" as a separate norm; ...they learnt established formulae, but need not have used themselves the kind of language expressed in those formulae, nor even have known what they literally meant'. Some old morphology and syntax in these and other documents may indeed be due to the continued use of traditional turns of phrase (cf. the *Formulae Andecauenses*), but it is convenient for W.'s case that he has chosen to discuss legal documents. Not all Medieval Latin is formulaic in subject and expression.

The fact is that Medieval Latin before the Carolingian period was not a unity. The better educated a writer was, the closer his Latin comes to archaic Latin. The more archaising and learned his Latin, the less it is likely to have been comprehensible to the uneducated. At the other extreme there are texts or parts of text (e.g. Anthimus, *De obseruatione ciborum*) which, despite a superficial Latinate colouring, are much closer to the vernacular. Such a text if read aloud to an illiterate might have been comprehensible; it is therefore in a style of the vernacular. A learned text if read aloud to the same person might have been totally incomprehensible. It is arguably in a defunct language.

## IV. The evidence of grammarians

To support his view that before the Carolingian reforms the only pronunciation was the evolved vernacular pronunciation, W. turns to the statements of grammarians. The Latin grammarians are said not to have advocated an old-fashioned Latinate pronunciation to be used by the educated, but to have assumed that all speakers used the vernacular of their time and place (54). 'If a dichotomy between "Latin" and (Proto-) "Romance" actually existed in these centuries (from the second to the fifth), the grammarians . . . would have prescribed that "correct" pronunciation of Latin was to be that which corresponds sound for letter to the correct Latin orthography; they would have stigmatized and attacked any "vulgar", vernacular or evolved features' (54). W. seems (see 54) to have been prompted to consider the grammarians by the following suggestive remark: Janson, *Mechanisms of Language Change* 28 'there are several passages in which late Latin grammarians and other authors talk about the loss of quantitative distinctions. However, in none of these do we find any indication that this was something peculiar to one social class. The grammarian *Sacerdos* talks about *uitium nostri temporis*, implying that it was universal at his time'. But not all of the passages which Janson cites are all that they might seem, and one of them goes directly against W.'s argument. At *Mus.* 2.1.1 Augustine says that if you pronounce *cano* with a long first syllable, you will be rebuked by the *grammaticus*, the 'guardian of tradition', who bases himself not on current usage, but on the authority of writers and grammarians of the past: *itaque uerbi gratia cum dixeris "cano" uel in uersu forte posueris, ita ut uel tu pronuntians producas huius uerbi syllabam primam, uel in uersu eo loco ponas, ubi esse productam oportebat, reprehendet grammaticus, custos ille uidelicet historiae, nihil aliud asserens cur hanc corripere oporteat, nisi quod hi qui ante nos fuerunt, et quorum libri exstant tractanturque a grammaticis, ea correpta, non producta usi fuerint. quare hic quidquid ualet, auctoritas ualet.* The passage envisages grammarians as attempting to maintain the old vowel system in the face of contemporary usage.

The evidence which W. cites is a mixed lot: some of it supports his point, but a good deal of it is weak or wrong. He also seems to have a false idea of the nature of ancient grammatical writings. Latin grammarians were not the ancient counterparts of progressive modern linguists. They were 'guardians of the language', *custodes Latini sermonis* (Sen. *Epist.* 95.65; cf. Augustine above), whose role was 'to protect the language against corruption' (see now R.A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Cal. 1988, 17). Grammarians had to balance the competing claims of usage (*consuetudo*), the authority of the classical authors (*auctoritas*), and nature (*natura*) (Kaster 19). Their traditional conservatism was castigated by Augustine, for example at *Doctr. Christ.* 2.45 *quid est ergo integritas locutionis nisi alienae consuetudinis conseruatio, loquentium ueterum auctoritate firmatae* ('what then is correctness of speech but the preservation of alien usage, supported by the authority of ancient speakers?'). Passages can be quoted in which a grammarian speaks in such terms as to show that a linguistic change had become accepted, but such passages have to be balanced by passages containing more conservative pronouncements and attitudes. For example, Pompeius, writing as late as the fifth or early sixth century, speaks as if nothing had happened to the classical vowel system (despite W. 58). Reading between the lines of his discussion of the aspirate (*GL* V.107.26ff.), we can deduce that the aspirate had been lost. But Pompeius does not accept the situation. He lists some words which should have an aspirate at the beginning, and some which should not, and implies that he himself continued to use the aspirate (27 *puta homo, ideo praepono h, quia . . .*). Consequent upon the loss of quantitative distinctions,  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{y}$  merged; this development is censured, not accepted, by the treatise on orthography which goes under Caper's name (*GL* VII.93.5 *peperaria mola non dicendum est, sed piperaria*).

The earliest passage which W. quotes is from Quintilian (1.7.29 *consules exempta n*

*littera legimus*: see 56), but this is misinterpreted. W. states that Quintilian allies 'himself in the first person with those who do not pronounce the [n] in such a word', adding 'if we still seriously believe that Proto-Romance was the speech of only the uneducated, it is surely strange to see Quintilian reveal himself as "vulgar" in such a matter-of-fact tone'. Quintilian means precisely the opposite of what W. takes him to mean. *Legimus* does not mean 'read aloud, pronounce', here. What the sentence says is 'we read [in documents, i.e. 'find written'] *consules* with its *n* omitted'. Quintilian was thinking of the old abbreviation *cos*. The heading of the section runs *quid? quae scribuntur aliter quam enuntiantur*, 'what of those words which are written otherwise than they are pronounced?'. *Cos*. is given as one such example. It follows that Quintilian pronounced the *n* in *consul*.

I find W.'s discussion of Velius Longus (55f.) largely unsatisfactory.

Longus' comment that *elegantiores* pronounced *uementem* and *reprendit* without an intervocalic *h* (GL VII.68.15ff.) is quoted (55) with the remark 'Velius is happy to speak the evolved form while writing the established orthography'. But Longus' discussion of the aspirate goes on for more than 20 lines, and W. has restricted his attention to a brief part of it.

Far from being guided only by usage, Longus comes up with some etymological reasons for keeping *h* in certain words. While some say that *harena* should be pronounced without *h* (69.5 *aliis sine adspiratione uidetur enuntiandam*), Longus thinks that it should have an aspirate, line 7 *propter originem uocis, siquidem, ut testis est Varro, a Sabinis fasena dicitur, et sicut s familiariter in r transit, ita f in uicinam adspirationem mutatur*. Here we see the sort of problem which might arise for the ancient grammarian, with *auctoritas* competing against *consuetudo*, and each possibility having its advocates. A similar reason leads Longus to recommend *haedus* with an aspirate, *quoniam faedi dicebantur apud antiquos* (10), and also *hircus*, *quoniam eosdem aeque fircos uocabant* (10f.). Longus' discussion does not display a consistent attitude to or any particular interest in 'evolved' usage, and it should not have been used selectively. Longus' main interest in the passage is in etymology; thus he cites competing etymologies of *cohors*, one of which would favour the form *cors*, the other *cohors*: 69.1-3 *cohortes aeque a cooriendo ex eodem loco dictae sunt; sed tamen differentiam quidam esse maluerunt, ut cohortes militum cum adspiratione a mutua hortatione dicantur*.

We are told (55) that 'the usage of the *antiqui* is not recommended if it clashes with the normal usage of Velius' day'. As a statement of Longus' attitudes this generalisation is inadequate: in the previous paragraph we saw an example of Longus invoking the *auctoritas* of a Republican writer. W. supports his assertion by partial quotation of the following passage: 77.12ff. *mium et commircium quoque per i antiquis relinquamus, apud quos aeque et Mircurius per i dicebatur, quod mirandarum rerum esset inuentor, ut Varro dicit*. This passage has no place in a discussion of Longus' opinions about 'evolved' pronunciations. *commercium* and *Mercurius* in no sense represent modern pronunciations, contrasting with older forms *commircium* and *Mircurius*. *commercium* and *Mercurius* had always been the normal forms. The spelling *Mircurius* occurs in early dialect inscriptions such as CIL I<sup>2</sup>.553 (Praeneste), and *commircium*, with a cognate in Oscan (*amirikum*: see F. Sommer and R. Pfister, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*<sup>4</sup> I, Heidelberg 1977, 54), will also have been an early dialectal form (cf. *stircus* at CIL I<sup>2</sup>.401). *Mius* too is merely an occasional early spelling (e.g. Plaut. *Men.* 202: see M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, Munich 1977, 46). Longus (or his source) had come across these spellings in early dialectal documents, and he was naturally not prepared to advocate them in his day. In keeping to *commercium* etc. he follows *auctoritas* as much as *consuetudo* in this case.

Quintilian (1.4.8) had commented on the 'intermediate vowel' in words such as *optimus*, which in early Latin was spelt with *u*, but from the late Republic usually with *i*, presumably following a slight shift in articulation (W.S. Allen, *Vox Latina*, Cambridge 1965, 56ff.). The orthographical question remained a matter of discussion for grammarians. Their remarks tell us very little about the general state of evolution of the language, but only



that one particular spelling and pronunciation continued to be used by most people (see below) once established in the late Republic. W. more than once quotes grammarians' pronouncements on the subject, as if the repeated citation of the same piece of evidence will add authority to his case. In reference to Longus, he states (55) 'as regards *maxumus* and *maximus*, the former is both *antiquum* and *rusticanum* (Keil VII.49.21), neither of which is a term of approval; the apparent belief of some philologists that the "rustic" was necessarily more evolved than the "urban" is unjustified'. The passage of Longus (*in quibus* [i.e. *optimus* and *maxumus*] *adnotandum antiquum sermonem plenioris soni fuisse et, ut ait Cicero, rusticanum atque illis fere placuisse per u talia scribere et enuntiare*) cannot be used against 'philologists' who think that rustic speech evolves more quickly than urban. W. has not pointed out that the terminology here is Cicero's (*De Orat.* 3. 42), who is cited by Longus. The speaker in Cicero's dialogue (Crassus) refers to L.Cotta as affecting a 'rustic' pronunciation to give his speech a flavour of the old days. Crassus was not making a linguistic observation about the unevolved state of rustic speech. The Romans looked back to their early agricultural days as a time of primitive simplicity. A person adopting a rustic speech in late Republican Rome might hope to appear old-wordly and morally worthy. Crassus is not deceived into believing that the rustic speech of Cotta is old-fashioned; Crassus merely thinks it is: '*illud quod loquitur priscum uisum iri putat si plane fuerit rusticanum*'. The rustic feature of Cotta's speech which Crassus singles out is its 'heaviness', *grauitas* ('*L. Cotta gaudere mihi uidetur grauitate linguae sonoque uocis agresti*'), which is later contrasted with *subtilitas*. It is this term *grauitas* which seems to have struck Longus. He interprets the ancient pronunciation of *maxumus* as 'heavy', or as he puts it, 'full' (*plenioris soni fuisse*), and therefore as qualifying for the epithet *rusticanus*, given Crassus' implied equation of *grauis* with *rusticanus*.

At 50.5ff., which is quoted by W. 55, Longus states that the spelling with *u* of such words as *optimus* and other superlatives, *manibiae* and *libido* might be allowed to those who follow the ancients, provided that they do not pronounce (*enuntient*) these words as they write them. At 67.12ff., however, which is not quoted by W., Longus is slightly inconsistent in admitting that there is a choice of pronunciation (*enuntiare* is used) open to the speaker between the 'ancient sound' in *mancupium*, *aucupium* and *manubiae*, and the more 'elegant' current sound: *relinquitur igitur electio, utrumne per antiquum sonum, qui est pinguissimus et u litteram occupabat, uelit quis enuntiare, an per hunc qui iam uidetur elegantior exilius, id est per i litteram, has proferat uoces*. These two passages show the difficulty of extracting a uniform attitude even from a single grammarian. And while there can be no doubt about majority usage, the possibility cannot be ruled out that a pedantic teacher favouring *auctoritas* might himself have used what he considered to be the *antiquus sonus*, and have attempted to impose it on his pupils. Indeed Longus makes the interesting observation (49.22f.) that some grammatici have thought that superlatives (*maxumus* etc.) are pronounced (*enuntiari*) with a *u*. I take it that *enuntiari* here is a case of the 'prescriptive present' (= 'should be pronounced'), which is common in technical prose (e.g. Scrib. Larg. 73 *ad tumorem arteriae papaueris ... capita quam plurima uase fictili coniciuntur aquaque perfunduntur*), including grammarians (Kaster 181, 190), especially in the passive. Longus may be alluding to an artificial rule which attempted to set up a distinction of pronunciation between the pre-labial vowel in words such as *maxumus*, and that in e.g. *monimentum*. W. has not collected all of the relevant evidence from Longus.

The only genuinely pertinent passages W. cites from Longus are those accepting the omission of final *-m* under certain circumstances, and of *n* before *s* (55f.)

The most convincing evidence which W. comes up with (60) is a well-known passage from Pompeius (*GL* V.286.6ff.; for bibliography on the passage, see M. Schanz-C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Munich 1920, IV.2, 209; also K. Mraz, *WS* 63 (1948), 86ff., and now Kaster 157) in which the assimilated pronunciation of *ti* in such words as *Titius* (*Titsus*) is treated as normal. What W. does not point out is that Pompeius seems to have

reversed the 'correct' doctrine here (see Kaster loc. cit. with n. 74); note Servius *Comm. in Don.*, GL IV.445.8ff., calling the fault 'iotacism': *iotacismi sunt, quotiens post ti uel di syllabam sequitur uocalis, et plerumque supra dictae syllabae in sibilum transeunt, tunc scilicet, quando medium locum tenent, ut meridies. quando autem primum locum tenent, etiam sic positae, sicut dicuntur, ita etiam sonandae sunt, ut dies tiaras*. There can be no doubt that Pompeius himself said *Titsus* etc., and that Servius was familiar with the assibilated pronunciation, but to judge from Servius' remarks there must have been at least some educated speakers in the late fourth century who were holding out against the popular development. W.'s comments on Pompeius are reasonable as far as they go, but he has again been selective in omitting from consideration evidence which goes against his general thesis.

W. (58) asserts that three commentators on Donatus (Sergius, Servius and Pompeius) state that short *e* and *o* were pronounced as diphthongs. Two of these passages (that of Sergius, GL IV.520.27ff., and that of Servius) are virtually the same as each other; I concentrate here on Servius. The third passage, of Pompeius, does not belong with the other two; I deal with it below.

I cannot accept W.'s interpretation (59) of Servius, GL IV.421.19ff. *item e quando producitur, uicinum est ad i litterae, ut meta; quando autem correptum, uicinum est ad sonum diphthongi, ut equus* ('when *e* is lengthened, as for example in *mēta*, it approaches the sound of the letter *i*; when it is shortened, as for example in *ēquus*, it approaches the sound of the diphthong'). When *e* is long, it is close to the sound of short *i*. The quality of short *e*, as in *equus*, is similar to the quality of *ae*. What Servius means here is that the short open *e* ([ɛ]) of *equus* is similar to the current pronunciation of the digraph *ae* (i.e. [ɛ̄], long or perhaps short: the development of the diphthong was to *ē* then *ē̄*: see R.G.G. Coleman, 'The monophthongization of /ae/ and the Vulgar Latin vowel system', *TPhS* 1971, 175 ff. The correct interpretation of the passage can be found in Allen, *Vox Latina*, 48f. According to W. 59, 'in view of the development of Spanish *yegua* <EQUAM there can be little doubt that [je] is the diphthong to which Servius refers'. There are various things wrong with this deduction. In the first place, even if the *e* of *equus* had turned into a diphthong by this time, Servius' readers were not so phonetically aware that they would have recognised in his elliptical reference to 'the diphthong' an allusion to a pure phonetic concept [je]. Latin grammarians were incapable of talking about pronunciation in any other terms than by means of their conventional orthography. *Diphthongi* can only refer to an established digraph, i.e. *ae*. Secondly, there is an illogicality about W.'s interpretation *ē* and *ē̄*, the quality of which Servius sets out to describe, are illustrated in two words, *mēta* and *ēquus*. Both were standard examples in the grammatical literature. The sound of *ē* in *meta* is likened to that of a grapheme not in *meta*, viz *i* (ȳ). Logically the sound of *ē̄* in *equus* ought to be likened to that of a grapheme not in *equus* (viz. *ae*). On W.'s interpretation the sound of the *ē̄* in *equus* is likened to the sound of the *e* in *equus* (allegedly [je]). This cannot be.

The tenor of this passage, dealing as it does primarily with differences of vowel quality, is different in kind from Pompeius, GL V.285.5-9, which deals with 'barbarisms' of vowel length. W. relates the passage of Pompeius to that of Servius, but he has gone astray in his interpretation of Pompeius, partly because he has based himself on a wrong text in line 7, partly because he has not noticed other passages in the work, one of them on the same page, which are relevant to the understanding of lines 7-8, and partly because he has adopted his mistaken view of the first vowel of *equus* as described above in attempting to explain Pompeius.

The passage of Pompeius as printed by Keil runs as follows: *est alter (barbarismus), qui fit in pronuntiatio. plerumque male pronuntiamus et facimus uitium, ut brevis syllaba longo tractu sonet aut iterum longa breuiore sono: siqui uelit dicere Ruoma, aut si uelit dicere aequus pro eo quod est equus, in pronuntiatione hoc fit*.

Pompeius is talking here about the fault of pronouncing short syllables as long, and long syllables as short. The type of 'barbarism' he had in mind must have struck grammarians with a knowledge of the old prosody during the period when the quantitative system was breaking down (see Consentius *GL* V.392. 3, 11, for censure of the faults of lengthening short vowels under the accent, and shortening unstressed long vowels; also Donatus *Ars Maior* p. 654.5f. Holtz on transposition of the quantities in *deos* (i.e. *dēōs*), an observation which seems to anticipate the diphthongisation of the *e* under the accent: see perhaps *CIL* VIII.9181 *dieo* = *deo*, also Fr. *dieu*). The two examples given by Pompeius ought to illustrate both of the faults, and there is little doubt that they do. The second illustrates the first fault, the lengthening of a short vowel. Pompeius means that *equus* might be incorrectly pronounced not with *ē*, but with the vowel which *ae* now represents, i.e. *ē̄* (on *ē̄* as an intermediate stage in the transition of CL *ae* to *e*, see Coleman, cited above). *Equus* is used elsewhere by Pompeius to illustrate short *e* (102.6, 106.19). Since W. has convinced himself that the *e* of *equus* now represents a diphthong, and indeed that the diphthong was regarded even by grammarians as correct and normal, he comes up with this far-fetched explanation of Pompeius' point: the barbarism consists of giving to the monophthongal *aequus* the diphthongal pronunciation which *equus* has (59f. 'the point here appears to be that it is *equus* that has the diphthongized pronunciation in normal vernacular, the barbarism being to give a diphthong to the normally monophthongal *aequus*. The barbarism...is not that of talking some evolved "vulgar" non-Classical Latin, but that of not talking ordinary acceptable fifth-century southern vernacular'). The *e* of *equus*, according to Pompeius in another passage, *simpliciter sonat*, a description which would not fit a diphthong (102.5f. (*e*) *brevis est, quando dicis equus; e sonat, simpliciter sonat*).

The other example given by Pompeius in our passage should be a case of the inverse phenomenon, short for long. If Pompeius really used the diphthongal spelling *Ruoma* (some MSS have *Roma* or *Rouma*), one must ask how a syllable containing *ae* diphthong could be regarded as shorter than one containing a long vowel (*Rōma*). W. accepts the text without question, but makes no satisfactory attempt to explain the point of *Ruoma* in the context.

The passage was discussed by L. Havet, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 3 (1879), 191f. Comparing the diphthongisation of *bōna* (> *buona*), he suggested that the *o* of *Roma* was shortened and then converted into a diphthong. He observes (191), 'à la longue on substituait la brève (ou plus exactement le son complexe qui avait remplacé la brève), ce qui est l'un des deux cas de barbarisme de prononciation annoncés par Pompeius'. But it would not really be a case of a short syllable for a long if *Ruōma* replaced *Rōma*.

What Pompeius was getting at becomes clear later in the page, and also from 129.3. Pompeius was one of those Latin grammarians who 'slavishly misapplied the Greek system [of pitch accentuation] to the description of Latin' (Allen, *Accent and Rhythm*, Cambridge 1973, 151), though it is clear enough from his long description of *accentus* (126.27-127.11) that what he in fact heard was a stress not a pitch accent. His attempt to impose Greek accentuation on Latin can be most clearly seen in his discussion of disyllabic words at 128.38-129.13. *Meta*, *creta*, *Roma*, with the structure  $\bar{\sim}$ , have a circumflex on the first syllable, *arma*, the first vowel of which is only long by position, has an acute, *parens*, with the structure  $\sim\bar{\sim}$ , has an acute, and *leges* ( $\sim\bar{\sim}$ ) also has an acute. At 285.30ff. Pompeius writes: *detrahimus accentum, si uelis dicere Rōma, cum tractim debeas dicere: longiorem enim illum accentum ad breuem traxisti*. The fault he criticises here is the 'shortening' of the first syllable of *Roma* by giving it an acute rather than the 'correct' circumflex accent. The remark is based on the application of Greek prosody to Latin. With its structure  $\bar{\sim}$ , *Roma* by the standards of Greek accentuation should have a circumflex on the first syllable, not an acute. In Greek, which he must be thinking of at least partly as the source of his faulty pronunciation, *Ρῶμη* quite correctly has an acute on the first syllable, because the second vowel is long.

This interpretation is confirmed by 129.3, where, as we have seen, *Roma* is cited as a word which should have a circumflex on the first syllable. It follows that at 285.7 the text



should read *Róma*, not *Ruoma* (the acute accent having at some stage in the textual tradition been interpreted as a letter; Pompeius will definitely have used accents in his discussion of *accentus*: see 132.1ff. on how to write accents). Giving *Roma* an acute rather than a circumflex in the terminology of Pompeius involved 'shortening', as is clear from the use of *detrahimus* and *tractim* at 285.30f. The first example given at 285.7 therefore refers, as it should in the context, to the shortening of a long syllable. Servius, in the corresponding passage of his commentary on Donatus, mentions in straight-forward terms the barbarism of lengthening a short syllable or shortening a long (GL IV.444.12ff. *fit autem barbarismus... <pronuntiatione>, si aut naturaliter longas syllabas breuiter proferamus, ut Romam, aut si naturaliter breues producamus, ut rosam*). It was Pompeius who confused the issue by introducing the principles of Greek accentuation. There remains a question about these passages which I simply pose here. Were Pompeius and Servius speaking hypothetically, or had they heard a pronunciation *Rōma* which Pompeius chose to describe in the terminology of Greek prosody?

Most of the evidence which W. discusses from Cassiodorus (78ff.) is of little interest, because it consists largely of items traditionally discussed by grammarians (e.g. *maxumus* / *maximus*, *h*, final *-m*, assimilation of prepositional prefixes). It is immaterial that Cassiodorus accepts the pronunciation of *tantus* with an *n* while recommending an etymological spelling with an *m*; the pronunciation with *n* was always normal, not 'evolved'. Similarly some of the items taken from Isidore are of slight significance, but others undoubtedly show that Isidore must himself have used an evolved Proto-Romance pronunciation (e.g. 83 on *bibit* / *uiuit*, 85 on assimilation in *iustitia*, 85 on the prothetic vowel). Commenting on Isidore's discussion of barbarism (87), W. says that the *barbarismi* include 'the pronunciation of [m] in e.g. *bonum aurum*', which cannot 'have been normal seventh-century Spanish usage'. In fact the fault Isidore is dealing with is mytacism, which would involve pronouncing *bonum aurum* as if the second word began with *m* (see L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical*, Paris 1981, 158f.).

W.'s discussion of the grammarians does come up with some points of interest, but it makes much of little. It is marred by some misinterpretations, and by W.'s failure to look for passages which might have run counter to the thesis he is propounding. He has paid little attention to sources, or to the theoretical limitations within which Latin grammarians operated.

#### V. Alcuin's *De Orthographia*

According to W., a new method of reading aloud was decreed at the time of the Carolingian reforms. 'Each letter on the page had to be given a sound, and that sound was specified' (105). A table of phonetic correspondences is set out on pages 105-106, based not on any evidence which W. provides, but on 'probability' (105 'it is probable that ...'). The principal figure in this reform of pronunciation is said to have been Alcuin, and the book in which he supposedly laid down the new pronunciation was his *De Orthographia*: 'Alcuin was having to prescribe the "correct" manner of speaking for a clientele already used to reading aloud the same words in a vernacular manner' (109). W. does not discuss the *De Orthographia* in detail here, as he has done so in an article ('Late Latin and early Romance: Alcuin's *De Orthographia* and the Council of Tours (AD 813)', *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar Third Volume* 1981, ed. F. Cairns, Liverpool 1981, 343ff.); he summarises the findings of the article. We are told (109) that Alcuin 'chooses many remarks from his sources relevant to pronunciation', that 'he adds information relevant to pronunciation to many of those chosen remarks'. Alcuin has 'a concern for *euphonia* in a narrowly phonetic sense'. *dicere* is used 'to refer specifically to phonetic matters'. In Alcuin's view, 'pronunciation is determined by the spelling', and so on. Indeed Alcuin is something of a revolutionary: his concerns were not shared by 'any other earlier grammarian'.

I have read the whole of Alcuin's treatise rather than W.'s citations of it, and am forced to conclude that W. has seriously misrepresented its content. It is unacceptable of him to summarise the conclusions of his article here as if they are established facts. I therefore propose to digress here on the subject of the article (referred to as *PLLS*).

Alcuin's highly derivative *De Orthographia* most emphatically cannot be viewed as a set of rules for the reformed pronunciation of the language. Its subject matter is overwhelmingly what its conventional title would imply, spelling. Remarks about pronunciation are few, and by no means reformist. They are made in passing, as is the case in grammatical works before Alcuin. W. (109) oddly singles out M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, Paris 1905, 343-49, as an honourable exception among modern scholars who have not noticed that the work 'also deals with pronunciation'. But apart from drawing attention to a few traditional remarks on syllable division (349 n.2), which are irrelevant to W.'s case anyway (see below), Roger treats the *De Orthographia* exclusively as a work about spelling (346 '*ce qui domine chez Alcuin, c'est le souci de la correction graphique*'). He was largely concerned with source criticism.

W.'s suggestion that *dicere* refers specifically to phonetic matters in the text does not bear examination. In the first 10 pages of the work (as printed by Keil, *GL* VII.295ff.) I have counted some 80 examples of the verb *scribo* (in expressions such as *scribatur*, *scribitur*, *scribendum est*), a high frequency which well illustrates Alcuin's interests. In the same pages *dico* occurs 31 times, but its use is diverse and it rarely means 'pronounce'. At 295.19, for example, Virgil is quoted: *Vergilius 'alia serpillumque' per i dixit*. *dico* is used as loosely here as Eng. 'say': it refers to spelling. It is supposedly significant (*PLLS* 349) that *dici debet* has been added to the following material from Bede: 298.7 *Belzebub, non Belzebul, Belial, non Beliar dici debet*. This item has nothing to do with a Carolingian reform of pronunciation: Alcuin is concerned with the form of foreign names. Similarly W. (*PLLS* 349) notes that where Alcuin writes (295.12f.) *ab arcu arcubus, ab arce arcibus dicendum est*, his source Cassiodorus had used *scribo*. Alcuin is not talking about pronunciation here. The comment is a morphological one; *arcubus* is the form to be used as the dat./abl. plural of *arcus*, *arcibus* as the dat./abl. plural of *arx*. *dicitur* is often used thus of derivation, in the sense 'is derived from, is a derivative of': e.g. 299.8f. *unde melius intellegitur caelum a pictura siderum quam a celando mortalibus arcana dictum*, 302.11 *forfices secundum etymologiam, si a filo dicuntur, f ponitur, ut forfices* (cf. 302.32f., 303.32, 304.27). For *dico* used in various other types of morphological comment, see 302.5 *fidus fidissimus comparatium non habet, sed pro eo dicendum magis fidus, minus fidus* (cf. 302.20, 23, 25, 304.2-4). Another category of examples of *dico* has to do with the meanings of words; the verb can often be translated 'mean by, call', with no reference to pronunciation: e.g. 301.27 *furuum nigrum dicimus* (cf. 296.13, 297.27, 298.27, 299.2, 303.31, 304.1, 304.12, 304.18, 305.20). The classes of examples of *dico* listed above underline the main preoccupations of the *De Orthographia*. Alcuin often comments on semantic points and morphology as well as spelling.

Most of the 31 examples of *dico* in the 10 pages which I have considered in detail here have now been disposed of as irrelevant. In these pages I have noted just 5 examples of the verb which might have to do with pronunciation. At 299.23f. Alcuin writes: *coquus coqui prima syllaba per c, secunda per q scribendum: non enim dicimus quoquere, sed coquere*. This is not a case of the spelling determining the pronunciation, but of the pronunciation determining the spelling. *coquus* had always been pronounced with [k] at the start. There is nothing reformist about this passage, which is mainly about spelling. Secondly, at 299.24ff. Alcuin brings in *euphonia*: *coniunx secundum analogiam per n scribendum est, sed euphoniae causa n tollitur et dicimus coniux. coniux* had long been the standard form of the word; *euphonia* accounts for that form. This passage goes against W.'s view (109) that for Alcuin pronunciation was determined by spelling. On etymological grounds Alcuin is in favour of putting a second *n* in *coniux* (*coniunx*), but the word is still pronounced *coniux*. In



this case the spelling is irrelevant to the pronunciation, and it is obvious again that Alcuin's main concern is to reform spelling, not pronunciation. The passage scarcely supports W.'s assertion (PLLS 349) that, whereas 'silent letters cause no problem to native speakers of the relevant vernacular, ... to Alcuin, basing an artificial liturgical pronunciation upon the traditional orthography, they were worrying'. So little worried was Alcuin that he here advocates the introduction of a silent letter against conventional usage. My third example of *dico* in the sample pages also fits ill with W.'s ideas about the purpose of the work: 304.32f. *malum si fructum significat longam a; si nequitiam, breuem dicito*. In the supposed reformed pronunciation the letters *a, e, i, o, u* had just one phonetic value each, according to the table on p. 105-106, not two, as in Classical Latin (I leave aside consonantal *i* and *u*). If this were so, why has Alcuin concerned himself with distinctions of quantity of the classical type? The truth is that he is writing as grammarians had always written. They were interested in classical prosody, and distinctions of the type made here were traditionally made (cf. Pompeius, *GL* V.106.14f.). Alcuin comments on classical quantity in a few other places in the treatise, as if the vowel system were as it had always been (300.3-4, 20., 301.23f., 305.9, 310.32, 312.12f.).

Fourth, the comment (297.34) *nemo dicit lasti uel lastis* may be taken loosely as referring to speech, but it has to do chiefly with inflection, not with the new sounds of the language when read aloud. Alcuin means that the perfect forms of *lauo* are not syncopated, unlike those of *neo* (line 32). Finally, the directive *festucam, non fistucam dicito* (302.10) was presumably prompted by a tendency for *festuca* 'stalk, stem, straw' to be contaminated with the semantically similar *fistula* 'tube, pipe, reed-stalk' etc. and hence to take on its vowel. *dicito* refers as much to spelling as to pronunciation, and in any case the passage gives us no information about a specifically Carolingian reading style.

At PLLS 347 W. discusses 296.29ff. *sed ab saepissime scribitur, cum sequens uerbum a uocali incipit, ne dictio multis consonantibus oneretur, ut ab uno; si uero a consonante pars orationis incipit, a solum ponatur, ut a fratre; abs tamen in conpositione saepius propter euphonia integrum manet, ut abs te abscondo melius sonat quam ab te uel abcondo*. Translating *dictio* as 'spoken form', W. deduces that 'in Alcuin's view it is the spelling that determines the proper pronunciation'. The passage has nothing to do with the pronunciation of Alcuin's time. The first part explains how in the written language (note *scribitur* and *ponatur*) the choice is made between *ab* and *a*. The comment on *abscondo* is an attempt to explain the inherited prefix of the verb. *abcondo* never existed; Alcuin is not speculating about the relative merits of *abcondo* and *abscondo* in his day.

*euphonia* here is not an aesthetic quality which is used to support a recommended pronunciation, but a quality which is used to account for an inherited spelling. That is the usual force of the word. Note 304.28 *loquor loqueris loquitur per q scribenda sunt, locutus uero euphoniae causa per c et simplicem u scribatur*, which W. (PLLS 348) introduces with the remark 'Alcuin has other comments on euphony which also show that the choice of spelling determines the manner of pronunciation when reading aloud'. Alcuin is in fact concerned with the traditional spelling of *locutus* (etymologically \**loquutus*) as against *loquor* etc., and pronunciation is simply not an issue. The same use is made of *euphonia* at 300.18 (on the difference between the prefixes *di-*, *dis-* and its assimilated form *diff-*): *dis componitur quando sequitur c f p s t et i loco consonantis, ut discutio differo diffundo, s in f mutata euphoniae causa, disputo dissero .... euphonia* explains why \**disfundo* became *diffundo* centuries before; Alcuin is not himself assessing the relative merits of the two forms. W.'s comment (PLLS 348) 'the last example shows that ease of pronunciation may be the main criterion, since it is a decrease in the ease of writing to have to remember not to write *disfero* when *dis-* is on offer anyway as a common bound morpheme' is completely wide of the mark. No one ever wrote \**disfero*; Alcuin seeks to explain why. I have noted 8 places where Alcuin mentions *euphonia* (295.7, 296.29, 297.2, 299.25, 300.18, 304.29, 308.10, 310.17), and in every case it is introduced not to justify a reformed pronunciation, but to account for a long-

established spelling. Often it serves to explain the form of a prepositional prefix (295.7, 297.2, 300.18, 310.17).

At 303.3-5 Alcuin comments on the correct spelling (note *scribitur*) of *haud* and *aut*: *haud, quando aduerbium est negandi, d littera terminatur et aspiratur in capite; quando autem coniunctio disiunctiua est, aut per t litteram sine aspiratione scribitur*. This passage might have been useful for scribes and writers in whose speech the two words were indistinguishable (and hence difficult to spell). It tells us nothing about official Carolingian pronunciation, but W. (PLLS 350) thinks that such a rule makes it 'likely that Alcuin is here presenting an artificial pronunciation system for those used to reading the same words with their vernacular sound .... Alcuin may be concerned here with the proper oral rendering of texts already written in the distant past'.

The same disregard for what the Latin says can be seen at PLLS 348f., where a use of *dicimus* is said to mean 'those of us who speak the official way'. The passage (on the tendency for the aspirate to be dropped in certain words) runs as follows: 311.25ff. *alia proiciunt aspirationem: dicimus enim prehendo et prendo, uehemens et uemens, nihil nil et nihili ....* W.'s loaded translation is supported by nothing in the context, whether *dicimus* means 'we say' or simply 'we use' (in writing). It is worth looking at some other cases of *dicimus* in the text. When at 301.13 Alcuin writes *exscindo exsculpo extruo exsisto per s dicimus: sistere enim est simplex*, he is referring in *dicimus* to spelling, as is obvious from a reading of 300.26-301.19. The question is considered whether various words beginning with *ex-* should have an *s* as well in writing (note 300.28 *scribi*, 29 *scribitur*, 301.10 *scribendum*). At 304.18 *gratum aliquid lepidum dicimus*) *dicimus* occurs in a comment on word meaning; for the form in other passages about usage or meaning, see 306.29, 33, 35, 308.35. And at 299.24 (*non enim dicimus quoquere sed coquere*) it is equally out of the question to take the verb in the sense 'we who speak in the official way'. No one, whether speaking the vernacular or in a 'Latinized' way, ever said *quoquere*. *dicimus* refers to everyone, now or in the past.

A few places where Alcuin mentions pronunciation have been discussed above. A few others remain, most of them insignificant. At 297.14 Alcuin comments on the difference between *alea* and *alia*: *alea, si ludum significat, per e; si ab alius alia uenit, per i legitur*. If *legitur* means 'is read aloud' here, this is the only place where the verb has this sense, though W.'s comment (109) on *legitur* as referring specifically to phonetic matters in the text would lead the reader to think that it was more common. In any case *legitur* can mean 'is found in writing, is read, is the reading' (see above, also Alcuin 297.27, and Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. II.B.2.b., citing Aug. *Cont. Iul. Rel.* 1.22 *in aliis codicibus non peccato sed peccatis legitur*). Some other passages worth noting are: 298.9 *b littera contra f non sonat, sed in eam transit in conpositione, ut offui non obfui* (not a recommendation, but a statement of long-standing practice), 302.23 *similiter dic duc et fer differentiae causa per apocopam proferuntur: nam si duce dice fere diceremus, aliud significare putaremur* (again a statement of age-old practice, throwing no light on Carolingian pronunciation), 308.27 *cotidie aduerbium continuationis per c et o dicitur et scribitur, non per q, quia non a quota die, sed a continenti die dictum est* (*cotidie* with [k] had always been standard; Alcuin justifies the pronunciation with an etymology; in the previous sentence he had set up an artificial distinction between a written form *quotidie*, an *aduerbium numeri*, and *cotidie*), 309.6ff. *r sequente e uocalis leuiter effertur, ut erus erit; si post r sequatur b uel n uel s uel e longa, tunc grauius profertur, ut herba herbidas ...* (this seems to be a comment on syllabic length; the item cannot be related to Carolingian reforms), perhaps 293.30 and 310.30f. There is a final passage which might be taken as reformist in aim: 305.7ff. *manuuiae obliuium diluuium suauium liuidus Fauus Flauus audus fluuius ciuitas exuuiae per u consonantem et i breuem proferuntur*. Alcuin is presumably attempting to counter the merging of *b* and *u*.

Even Alcuin's observations on syllable division as collected by Roger 349 n.2 are more applicable to the written form of the language than to its pronunciation, as is clear from

307.1f. *praegnantem cum scripto diuidis, adnectis g secundae syllabae et alia eiusmodi, ut pignus dignus* (cf. the less informative comments, 305.14, 306.5).

Given the great abundance of instructions which Alcuin offers about spelling and about how to distinguish one word from another of similar form, it is clear that he was writing chiefly for scribes whose evolved vernacular would have made it difficult for them to spell Latin correctly. It is remarkable how infrequently Alcuin envisages his readers as speaking the words which they are being told how to write. On the odd occasions when pronunciation is explicitly mentioned, either the pronunciation is of a type which would have been standard anyway, even in the vernacular (e.g. *coquere* and *cotidie* with [k], *coniux* without a velar nasal), or it does not fit in with W.'s posited Carolingian system (e.g. *mālum* vs. *mālum*). The *De Orthographia* is not on the face of it the work of a writer seeking to introduce a radically new method of pronunciation. If it were, one would have expected Alcuin to give systematic and explicit instructions on how to sound the various letters and combinations of letters whose sound he was trying to reform. If one were to argue that Alcuin was prescribing a set of correct sounds for those reading aloud, one would have to assume that he was doing so indirectly, by laying down the spelling of words and expecting his readers in some unspecified way to sound each letter in each word. But what grounds are there for making this assumption? W. does not say, perhaps because he has convinced himself that the work is explicitly (as distinct from indirectly) about pronunciation.

W. (109) claims that originally Alcuin headed the work with an elegiac couplet: *m e legat antiquas uult qui proferre loquelas | me qui non sequitur uult sine lege loqui*. This was printed by Migne. Marsili, we are told (109 n.2), printed a variant: *me legat antiquas cupiat qui scire loquelas | me spernens loquitur mox sine lege patrum*. What we are not told is that Keil printed the same variant, which has good manuscript authority. W. has chosen without discussion the couplet which he thinks most suits his idea of the purpose of the work. I would not attach much importance to either version. The purpose of the *De Orthographia* can best be deduced from its content.

I can imagine only one circumstance in which the *De Orthographia* might have been relevant to supposed Carolingian reforms of the method of reading Latin aloud. If it had been accompanied by a more phonetically oriented document in which the sounds to be given to letters were specified, the correct spellings which it lists might have been used by someone wishing to put the phonetic recommendations into practice. As it stands the text is largely irrelevant to the question how the Carolingians pronounced Latin.

## VI. The Council of Tours, 813

W. offers a new interpretation of Canon 17 of the Council of Tours, which follows on logically from his views on the new pronunciation. This interpretation I find unconvincing. The relevant passage runs as follows (*MGH, Leg. Sect. III.II.1*, p. 288.24ff.): *ut easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur* (it was recommended that 'each (bishop) should strive to translate the same homilies clearly into *rustica Romana lingua* or German, so that everyone can more easily understand what is said'). The homilies consisted of exegetical material compiled largely from works of Church fathers of the past (see R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms*, London 1977, 90). They were recited in church, presumably in vernacular pronunciation, though one cannot rule out the possibility that there were those who affected what they thought was a Latinate pronunciation. By 813 these homilies were no longer understood. Their obscurity was no doubt caused by their morphology, vocabulary and syntax, vernacular morphology in particular having moved far from that of learned Latin by the ninth century. Bishops were therefore asked to translate them into Romance, or for Germanic speakers, German.

For W. (120f., *PLLS* 353ff.) the homilies had become incomprehensible because of the

new method of reading aloud. Bishops were therefore required not to 'translate' them, but to 'transfer' them into a different reading style (i.e. the vernacular method). There is much that is wrong with W.'s argument, quite apart from his failure to demonstrate what the supposed new reading style was. First, he persists with the assumption, nowhere adequately discussed in the book, that a piece of Latin, with learned morphology, syntax and vocabulary, would become comprehensible to uneducated vernacular speakers merely by being pronounced with vernacular phonetics. If this assumption was questionable for the seventh century, it is ridiculous for the ninth. Secondly, W. argues that the verb *transfero* could not mean 'translate' in the ninth century (see especially PLLS 357). This assertion is based on his failure to find the meaning registered in the dictionaries of Medieval Latin which he has consulted. Medieval Latin dictionaries are of course incomplete, except for certain letters of the alphabet. But W. need not have looked beyond this passage for the meaning in question. *transferre in (linguam) Thiotiscam* can only mean 'translate into German'. Is a single instance of *transferre* to mean one thing with *rusticam Romanan linguam* and another with *Thiotiscam* as its object? On this problem W. comes up with the following piece of special pleading (PLLS 357): 'the fact that, with reference to German, the transfer could involve translation is no more significant than the fact that translating a bishop usually involved having him ride a horse'. Thirdly *lingua*, understood with *Thiotiscam*, can only mean 'language'. Expressed with *rusticam Romanam*, it cannot mean something radically different, viz. 'manner of reading aloud'. If W. is unable to find *transfero* = 'translate' in Medieval Latin, it would be interesting to know if he can find *lingua* = 'manner of reading aloud'.

W. seems to think that the conventional interpretation of the sentence in question involves an assumption that (PLLS 355f.) 'by 813 the natural speech of the priesthood had hardly changed for a millennium (*sic*) and was thus by now so far removed from the speech of the general masses that the priests are having consciously to translate from one whole distinct language system into another when they *transferunt* from Latin to Romance'. Here again we see W.'s habit of misrepresenting the position of those he hopes to demolish. No reasonable person would suggest that priests continued to *speak* classicising Latin: they were reading aloud homilies *written* in classicising Latin.

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*The Editor takes advantage of a space at the end of this number to make his own contribution to the question who knew most Greek. It is to the tune of 'The bonnets of bonnie Dundee'.*

To the Lords of Greek Language quoth Claverhouse Jebb  
 'Today's sciolist scholars have spun a fine web  
 when they ask whether Housman or Headlam or I  
 knew more of the speech that refuses to die.  
 Lloyd Jones may defend me, William Calder the Third  
 with his *ars nesciendi* (or so I have heard)  
 refuses to say. In Elysian Fields,  
 where all know all Greek and nobody yields  
 the palm to another, with Porson as well  
 and Bentley and Hermann in amity dwell  
 all scholars united, and treasure the gems  
 they find in Persephone's piled LCMs.

So take up your pens and study the text,  
 examine the context and see what comes next  
 and publish your findings in Jan. or in Feb.  
 and follow the fashion of Claverhouse Jebb'.

jp